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UTOPIA:

Written in Latin by

Sir *THOMAS MORE*,

CHANCELLOR

the OF *Province*

ENGLAND:

Translated into English.

LONDON;

Printed for **Richard Chiswell** at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. MDCLXXXIV.

THE PREFACE.

THere is no way of writing ſo proper, for the refining and poliſhing a Language, as the tranſlating of Books into it, if he that undertakes it, has a competent skill of the one Tongue, and is a Maſter of the other. When a Man writes his own Thoughts, the heat of his Fancy, and the quickneſs of his Mind, carry him ſo much after the Notions themſelves, that for the moſt part he is too warm to judg of the aptneſs of Words, and the

juſtneſs of Figures; ſo that he either neglects theſe too much, or overdoes them: But when a Man tranſlates, he has none of theſe Heats about him: and therefore the French took no ill Method, when they intended to reform and beautify their Language, in ſetting their beſt Writers on Work to tranſlate the Greek and Latin Authors into it. There is ſo little praiſe got by Tranſlations, that a Man cannot be engaged to it out of Vanity, for it has paſt for a ſign of a ſlow Mind, that can amuſe it ſelf with ſo mean an Entertainment; but we begin to grow wiſer, and tho ordinary Tranſlators muſt ſucceed ill in the eſteem of the World, yet ſome have appeared of late that will, I hope, bring that way of writing in credit. The Engliſh Language has wrought it ſelf out, both of the fulſome Pe-

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dantry under which it laboured long ago, and the trifling way of dark and unintelligible Wit that came after that, and out of the course extravagance of Canting that succeeded this: but as one Extream commonly produces another, so we were beginning to fly into a sublime pitch, of a strong but false Rhetorick, which had much corrupted, not only the Stage, but even the Pulpit; two places, that tho they ought not to be named together, much less to resemble one another; yet it cannot be denied, but the Rule and Measure of Speech is generally taken from them: but that florid strain is almost quite worn out, and is become now as ridiculous as it was once admired. So that without either the Expence or Labour that the French have undergone, our Language has, like a rich Wine,

wrought out its Tartar, and is insensibly brought to a Purity that could not have been compassed without much labour, had it not been for the great advantage that we have of a *Prince*, who is so great a Judg, that his single approbation or dislike has almost as great an Authority over our Language, as his Prerogative gives him over our Coin. We are now so much refined, that how defective soever our Imaginations or Reasonings may be, yet our Language has fewer Faults, and is more natural and proper, than it was ever at any time before. When one compares the best Writers of the last Age, with these that excel in this, the difference is very discernable: even the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, that was the first that writ our Language correctly: as he is still our best Author, yet

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in ſome places has Figures ſo ſtrong, that they could not paſs now before a ſevere Judg. I will not provoke the preſent Maſters of the Stage, by preferring the Authors of the laſt Age to them: for tho they all acknowledg that they come far ſhort of *B. Johnſon*, *Beamont* and *Fletcher*, yet I believe they are better pleaſed to ſay this themſelves, than to have it obſerved by others. Their Language is now certainly properer, and more natural than it was formerly, chiefly ſince the correction that was given by the *Rehearſal*; and it is to be hoped, that the *Eſſay on Poetry*, which may be well matched with the beſt Pieces of its kind that even *Auguſtus*'s Age produced, will have a more powerful Operation, if clear ſenſe, joined with home but gentle Reproofs, can work more on our Writers,

Writers, than that unmerciful expoſing of them has done.

I have now much leiſure, and want diverſion, ſo I have beſtowed ſome of my hours upon Tranſlations, in which I have propoſed no ill Patterns to my ſelf: but the Reader will be beſt able to judg whether I have copied skilfully after ſuch Originals. This ſmall Volume which I now publiſh, being writ by one of the greateſt Men that this Iſland has produced, ſeemed to me to contain ſo many fine and well-digeſted Notions, that I thought it might be no unkind nor ill entertainment to the Nation, to put a Book in their Hands, to which they have ſo good a Title, and which has a very common fate upon it, to be

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more known and admired all the World over, than here at Home. It was once tranſlated into Engliſh not long after it was written; and I was once apt to think it might have been done by Sir *Thomas More* himſelf: for as it is in the Engliſh of his Age, and not unlike his Stile; ſo the Tranſlator has taken a liberty that ſeems too great for any but the Author himſelf, who is Maſter of his own Book, and ſo may leave out or alter his Original as he pleaſes: which is more than a Tranſlator ought to do, I am ſure it is more than I have preſumed to do.

It was writ in the Year 1516, as appears by the Date of the Letter of *Peter Giles*'s, in which he ſays, That it was ſent him but a

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few days before from the Author, and that bears date the first of *November* that Year; but I cannot imagine how he comes to be called Sheriff of *London* in the Title of the Book, for in all our printed Catalogues of Sheriffs, his Name is not to be found. I do not think my self concerned in the Matter of his Book, no more than any other Translator is in his Author: nor do I think *More* himself went in heartily to that which is the chief Basis of his *Utopia*, the taking away of all *Property*, and the levelling the World; but that he only intended to set many Notions in his Reader's way; and that he might not seem too much in earnest, he went so far out of all Roads to do it the less suspected: the earnestness with which he recommends

mends the precaution uſed in Marriages among the *Utopians*, makes one think that he had a misfortune in his own choice, and that therefore he was ſo cautious on that Head; for the ſtrictneſs of his Life covers him from ſevere Cenſures: His ſetting out ſo barbarous a practice, as the hiring of Aſſaſſinates to take off Enemies, is ſo wild and ſo immoral both, that it does not admit of any thing to ſoften or excuſe it, much leſs to juſtify it; and the adviſing Men in ſome Caſes to put an end to their Lives, notwithſtanding all the Caution with which he guards it, is a piece of rough and fierce Philoſophy. The tendereſt part of the whole Work, was the repreſentation he gives of *Henry* the Seventh's Court; and his Diſcourſes upon it, towards the

end

end of the first Book, in which his Disguise is so thin, that the Matter would not have been much plainer if he had named him: But when he ventured to write so freely of the Father in the Son's Reign, and to give such an *Idea* of Government under the haughtiest Prince, and the most impatient of uneasy Restraints that ever reigned in *England*, who yet was so far from being displeased with him for it, that as he made him long his particular Friend, so he employed him in all his Affairs afterwards, and raised him to be L. Chancellor, I thought I might venture to put it in more Modern English: for as the Translators of *Plutarch*'s *Hero's*, or of *Tullies Offices*, are not concerned, either in the Maxims, or in the Actions that they relate; so I, who only tell, in

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the beſt Engliſh I can, what Sir *Thomas More* writ in very Elegant Latin, muſt leave his Thoughts and Notions to the Reader's cenſure, and do think my ſelf liable for nothing but the fidelity of the Tranſlation, and the correctneſs of the Engliſh; and for that I can only ſay, that I have writ as carefully, and as well as I can.

THE

THE Author's Epiſtle TO PETER GILES.

I Am almoſt aſhamed, my deareſt Peter Giles, *to ſend you this Book of the* Utopian Common-Wealth, *after almoſt a Years delay; whereas no doubt you look'd for it within ſix Weeks: for as you know I had no occaſion for uſing my Invention, or for taking pains to put things into any method, becauſe I had nothing to do, but to repeat exactly thoſe things that I heard* Raphael *relate in your preſence; ſo neither was there any occaſion given for a ſtudied Eloquence: ſince as he delivered things to us of the ſudden, and in a careleſs Stile; ſo he being, as you know, a greater Maſter of*

the Greek, than of the Latin; the plainer my words are, they will reſemble his ſimplicity the more: and will be by conſequence the nearer to the Truth, and that is all that I think lies on me: and it is indeed the only thing in which I thought my ſelf concerned. I confeſs, I had very little left on me in this Matter, for otherwiſe the inventing and ordering of ſuch a Scheme, would have put a Man of an ordinary pitch, either of Capacity, or of Learning, to ſome pains, and have coſt him ſome time; but if it had been neceſſary that this Relation ſhould have been made, not only truly, but eloquently, it could never have been performed by me, even after all the pains and time that I could have beſtowed upon it. My part in it was ſo very ſmall, that it could not give me much trouble, all that belonged to me being only to give a true and full account of the things that I had heard: but although this required ſo very little of my time; yet even that little was long denied me by my other Affairs, which preſs much upon me: for while in pleading, and hearing, and in judging or compoſing of Cauſes, in waiting on ſome Men upon Buſineſs, and on others out of Reſpect, the greateſt part of the Day is ſpent on other Mens Affairs, the remainder of it muſt be given

given to my Family at home: So that I can reserve no part of it to my self, that is, to my Study: I must talk with my Wife, and chat with my Children, and I have somewhat to say to my Servants; for all these things I reckon as a part of Business, except a Man will resolve to be a Stranger at Home: and with whomsoever either Nature, Chance, or Choice has engaged a Man, in any Commerce, he must endeavour to make himself as acceptable to these about him, as he possibly can; using still such a temper in it, that he may not spoil them by an excessive gentleness, so that his Servants may not become his Masters. In such things as I have named to you, do Days, Months, and Years slip away; what is then left for Writing? and yet I have said nothing of that time that must go for Sleep, or for Meat: in which many do waste almost as much of their time, as in Sleep, which consumes very near the half of our Life; and indeed all the time which I can gain to my self, is that which I steal from my Sleep and my Meals; and because that is not much, I have made but a slow progress; yet because it is somewhat, I have at last got to an end of my Utopia, *which I now send to you, and expect that after you have read it, you will let me know if you can put me in mind*

of any thing that has eſcaped me; for tho I would think my ſelf very happy, if I had but as much Invention and Learning as I know I have Memory, which makes me generally depend much upon it, yet I do not relie ſo entirely on it, as to think I can forget nothing.

My Servant John Clement *has ſtarted ſome things that ſhake me: You know he was preſent with us, as I think he ought to be at every Converſation that may be of uſe to him, for I promiſe my ſelf great Matters from the progreſs he has ſo early made in the Greek and Roman Learning. As far as my Memory ſerves me, the Bridg over* Anider *at* Amaurot, *was* 500 *paces broad, according to* Raphael's *account; but* John *aſſures me, he ſpoke only of* 300 *paces; therefore I pray you recollect what you can remember of this, for if you agree with him, I will believe that I have been miſtaken; but if you remember nothing of it, I will not alter what I have written, becauſe it is according to the beſt of my remembrance: for as I will take care that there may be nothing falſly ſet down; ſo if there is any thing doubtful, tho I may perhaps tell a lie, yet I am ſure I will not make one; for I would rather paſs for a good Man, than for a wiſe Man: but it will be eaſy to correct this Miſtake, if you can either meet with*

with Raphael *himself, or know how to write to him.*

I have another Difficulty that presses me more, and makes your writing to him the more necessary: I know not whom I *ought to blame for it, whether* Raphael, *you, or my self; for as we did not think of asking it, so neither did he of telling us, in what part of the new-found World* Utopia *is situated; this was such an omission that* I *would gladly redeem it at any rate:* I *am ashamed, that after* I *have told so many things concerning this Island,* I *cannot let my Readers know in what Sea it lies. There are some among us that have a mighty desire to go thither, and in particular, one pious Divine is very earnest on it, not so much out of a vain curiosity of seeing unknown Countries, as that he may advance our Religion, which is so happily begun to be planted there; and that he may do this regularly, he intends to procure a Mission from the* Pope, *and to be sent thither as their Bishop. In such a case as this, he makes no scruple of aspiring to that Character, and thinks it is rather meritorious to be ambitious of it, when one desires it only for advancing the Christian Religion, and not for any Honour or Advantage that may be had by it, but is acted meerly by a pious Zeal.*

Therefore I *earnestly beg it of you, if you can possibly meet with* Raphael, *or if you know how to write to him, that you will be pleased to inform your self of these things, that there may be no falshood left in my Book, nor any important Truth wanting. And perhaps it will not be unfit to let him see the Book it self: for as no Man can correct any Errors that may be in it, so well as he; so by reading it, he will be able to give a more perfect judgment of it than he can do upon any Discourse concerning it: and you will be likewise able to discover whether this Undertaking of mine is acceptable to him or not; for if he intends to write a Relation of his Travels, perhaps he will not be pleased that* I *should prevent him, in that part that belongs to the* Utopian Common-Wealth; *since if* I *should do so, his Book will not surprize the World with the pleasure which this new Discovery will give the Age. And* I *am so little fond of appearing in print upon this occasion, that if he dislikes it,* I *will lay it aside; And even though he should approve of it,* I *am not positively determined as to the publishing of it. Mens tastes differ much; some are of so morose a Temper, so sour a Disposition, and make such absurd Judgments of Things, that Men of chearful and lively*

lively Tempers, who indulge their Genius, *ſeem much more happy, than thoſe who waſte their time and ſtrength in order to the publiſhing ſome Book, that tho of it ſelf it might be uſeful or pleaſant, yet inſtead of being well received, will be ſure to be either loathed at, or cenſured. Many know nothing of Learning, and others deſpiſe it: a Man that is accuſtomed to a courſe and harſh Sile, thinks every thing is rough that is not barbarous. Our trifling Pretenders to* Learning, *think all is ſlight that is not dreſt up in words that are worn out of uſe; ſome love only old things, and many like nothing but what is their own. Some are ſo ſour, that they can allow no Jeſts, and others are ſo dull that they can endure nothing that is ſharp; and ſome are as much afraid of any thing that is quick or lively, as a Man bit with a mad Dog is of Water; others are ſo light and unſetled, that their Thoughts change as quick as they do their Poſtures: and ſome, when they meet in Taverns, take upon them among their Cups to paſs Cenſures very freely on all Writers; and with a ſupercilious liberty to condemn every thing that they do not like: in which they have the advantage that a bald Man has, who can catch hold of another by the Hair, while the other cannot return the like upon*

him. They are safe as it were of Gun-shot, since there is nothing in them considerable enough to be taken hold of. And some are so unthankful, that even when they are well-pleased with a Book, yet they think they owe nothing to the Author; and are like those rude Guests, who after they have been well entertained at a good Dinner, go away when they have glutted their Appetites, without so much as thanking him that treated them. But who would put himself to the charge of making a Feast for Men of such nice Palats, and so different Tastes; who are so forgetful of the Civilities that are done them? But do you once clear those Points with Raphael, *and then it will be time enough to consider whether it be fit to publish it or not; for since* I *have been at the pains to write it, if he consents to the publishing it,* I *will follow my Friend's Advice, and chiefly yours. Farewel my dear* Peter, *commend me kindly to your good Wife, and love me still as you use to do, for* I *assure you* I *love you daily more and more.*

THE

The Diſcourſes of

RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,

Of the beſt State of a

Common-Wealth.

Written by Sir Thomas More, *Citizen and Sheriff of* London.

HENRY the *8th*, the unconquered King of *England*, a Prince adorned with all the Vertues that become a great Monarch; having ſome Differences of no ſmall Conſequence with *Charles* the moſt ſerene Prince of *Caſtile*, ſent me into *Flanders* as his Ambaſſador, for treating and compoſing Matters between them. I was

was Collegue and Companion to that incomparable Man *Cuthbert Tonſtal*, whom the King made lately Maſter of the *Rolls*, with ſuch an Univerſal Applauſe; of whom I will ſay nothing, not becauſe I fear that the Teſtimony of a Friend will be ſuſpected, but rather becauſe his Learning and Vertues are greater than that they can be ſet forth with advantage by me, and they are ſo well known, that they need not my Commendations, unleſs I would, according to the Proverb, *Shew the Sun with a Lanthorn.* Thoſe that were appointed by the Prince to treat with us, met us at *Bruges*, according to Agreement: they were all worthy Men. The *Mark-grave* of *Bruges* was their Head, and the chief Man among them; but he that was eſteemed the wiſeſt, and that ſpoke for the reſt, was *George Temſe* the Provoſt of *Caſſelſee*; both Art and Nature had concurred to make him eloquent: He was very learned in the Law; and as he had a great Capacity, ſo by a long practice in Affairs, he was very dextrous at them. After we had met once and again, and could not come to an Agreement, they went to *Bruſſels* for ſome days to receive the Prince's Pleaſure. And ſince our Buſineſs

ſineſs did admit of it, I went to *Antwerp*: While I was there, among many that viſited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other; *Peter Giles* born at *Antwerp*, who is a Man of great Honour, and of a good Rank in his Town; yet it is not ſuch as he deſerves: for I do not know if there be any where to be found a learneder and a better bred young Man: for as he is both a very worthy Perſon, and a very knowing Man; ſo he is ſo civil to all Men, and yet ſo particularly kind to his Friends, and is ſo full of Candor and Affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two to be found any where, that is in all reſpects ſo perfect a Friend as he is: He is extraordinarily modeſt, there is no artifice in him; and yet no Man has more of a prudent ſimplicity than he has: His Converſation was ſo pleaſant and ſo innocently chearful, that his Company did in a great meaſure leſſen any longings to go back to my Country, and to my Wife and Children, which an abſence of four months had quickned very much. One day as I was returning home from Maſs at St. *Maries*, which is the chief Church, and the moſt frequented of any in

Antwerp,

Antwerp, I ſaw him by accident talking with a Stranger, that ſeemed paſt the flower of his Age; his Face was tanned, he had a long Beard, and his Cloak was hanging careleſly about him, ſo that by his Looks and Habit, I concluded he was a Seaman. As ſoon as *Peter* ſaw me, he came and ſaluted me; and as I was returning his Civility, he took me aſide, and pointing to him with whom he had been diſcourſing, he ſaid, Do you ſee that Man? I was juſt thinking to bring him to you. I anſwered, He ſhould have been very welcome on your account: And on his own too, replied he, if you knew the Man; for there is none alive that can give you ſo copious an account of unknown Nations and Countries as he can do; which I know you very much deſire. Then ſaid I, I did not gueſs amiſs, for at firſt ſight I took him for a Seaman: But you are much miſtaken, ſaid he, for he has not ſailed as a Seaman, but as a Traveller, or rather as a Philoſopher; for this *Raphael*, who from his Family carries the Name of *Hythloday*, as he is not ignorant of the Latine Tongue, ſo he is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himſelf more particularly to that than

than to the former, becauſe he had given himſelf much to Philoſophy, in which he knew that the *Romans* have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in *Seneca* and *Cicero*. He is a *Portugueſe* by birth, and was ſo deſirous of ſeeing the World, that he divided his Eſtate among his Brothers, and run Fortunes with *Americus Veſputius*, and bore a ſhare in three of his four Voyages, that are now publiſhed: only he did not return with him in his laſt, but obtained leave of him almoſt by force, that he might be one of thoſe four and twenty who were left at the fartheſt place at which they touched, in their laſt Voyage to *New Caſtile*. The leaving him thus, did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home, to be buried in his own Country: for he uſed often to ſay, That the way to Heaven was the ſame from all places; and he that had no Grave, had the Heavens ſtill over him. Yet this diſpoſition of Mind had coſt him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five *Caſtilians*, had travelled over many Countries, at laſt, by a ſtrange good fortune, he got to *Ceylon*, and from thence to *Ca-*

licut,

licut, and there he very happily found ſome *Portugueſe* Ships; and ſo, beyond all Mens expectations, he came back to his own Country. When *Peter* had ſaid this to me, I thanked him for his kindneſs, in intending to give me the acquaintance of a Man, whoſe Converſation he knew would be ſo acceptable to me; and upon that *Raphael* and I embraced one another: And after thoſe Civilities were paſt, which are ordinary for Strangers upon their firſt meeting, We went all to my Houſe, and entring into the Garden, ſat down on a green Bank, and entertained one another in Diſcourſe. He told us, that when *Veſputius* had ſailed away, he and his Companions that ſtaid behind in *New-Caſtile*, did by degrees inſinuate themſelves into the People of the Country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently: and at laſt they grew not only to live among them without danger, but to converſe familiarly with them; and got ſo far into the Heart of a Prince, whoſe Name and Country I have forgot, that he both furniſhed them plentifully with all things neceſſary, and alſo with the conveniences of travelling; both Boats when they went by Water, and Wagons

Wagons when they travelled over Land; and he ſent with them a very faithful Guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to ſuch other Princes as they had a mind to ſee: and after many days Journey, they came to Towns, and Cities, and to Common-Wealths, that were both happily governed, and well-peopled. Under the *Æquator*, and as far on both ſides of it as the Sun moves, there lay vaſt Deſerts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the Sun; the Soil was withered, all Things look'd diſmally, and all Places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with Wild Beaſts and Serpents, and ſome few Men, that were neither leſs wild, nor leſs cruel than the Beaſts themſelves. But as they went farther, a new Scene opened, all things grew milder, the Air leſs burning, the Soil more verdant, and even the Beaſts were leſs wild: And at laſt there are Nations, Towns, and Cities, that have not only mutual commerce among themſelves, and with their Neighbours, but trade both by Sea and Land, to very remote Countries. There they found the Conveniencies of ſeeing many Countries on all Hands, for no Ship went any Voyage into which he

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and his Companions were not very welcome. The firſt Veſſels that they ſaw were Flat-bottomed, their Sails were made of Reeds and Wicker woven cloſe together, only ſome were made of Leather; but afterwards they found Ships made with round Keels, and Canvaſs Sails, and in all things like our Ships: and the Seamen underſtood both Aſtronomy and Navigation. He got wonderfully into their favour, by ſhewing them the uſe of the Needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant; and whereas they ſailed before with great caution, and only in Summer-time, now they count all Seaſons alike, truſting wholly to the Loadſtone, in which they are perhaps more ſecure than ſafe; ſo that there is reaſon to fear, that this Diſcovery which was thought would prove ſo much to their Advantage, may by their imprudence become an occaſion of much Miſchief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had obſerved in every place, it would be too great a digreſſion from our preſent purpoſe: and what-ever is neceſſary to be told, chiefly concerning the wiſe and prudent Inſtitutions that he obſerved among civilized Nations, may perhaps

perhaps be related by us on a more proper occaſion. We ask'd him many queſtions concerning all theſe things, to which he anſwered very willingly; only we made no enquiries after Monſters, than which nothing is more common; for every where one may hear of ravenous Dogs and Wolves, and cruel Men-eaters; but it is not ſo eaſy to find States that are well and wiſely governed.

But as he told us of many things that were amiſs in thoſe New-found Nations, ſo he reckoned up not a few things, from which Patterns might be taken for correcting the Errors of theſe Nations among whom we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promiſed, at ſome other time; for at preſent I intend only to relate theſe Particulars that he told us of the Manners and Laws of the *Utopians*: but I will begin with the Occaſion that led us to ſpeak of that Common-Wealth. After *Raphael* had diſcourſed with great judgment of the Errors that were both among us and theſe Nations, of which there was no ſmall number, and had treated of the wiſe Inſtitutions both here and there, and had ſpoken as diſtinctly of the Cuſtoms and

Government of every Nation through which he had paſt, as if he had ſpent his whole Life in it; *Peter* being ſtruck with admiration, ſaid, I wonder, *Raphael*, how it comes that you enter into no King's Service, for I am ſure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable: for your Learning and Knowledg, both of Men and Things, is ſuch, that you would not only entertain them very pleaſantly, but be of good uſe to them, by the Examples that you could ſet before them, and the Advices that you could give them; and by this means you would both ſerve your own Intereſt, and be of great uſe to all your Friends. As for my Friends, anſwered he, I need not be much concerned, having already done all that was incumbent on me toward them; for when I was not only in good Health, but freſh and young, I diſtributed that among my Kindred and Friends, which other People do not part with till they are old and ſick; and then they unwillingly give among them, that which they can enjoy no longer themſelves. I think my Friends ought to reſt contented with this, and not to expect that for their ſakes I ſhould enſlave my ſelf to any King whatſoever.

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Soft and fair, ſaid *Peter*, I do not mean that you ſhould be a Slave to any King, but only that you ſhould aſſiſt them, and be uſeful to them. The change of the Word, ſaid he, does not alter the Matter. But term it as you will, replied *Peter*, I do not ſee any other way in which you can be ſo uſeful, both in private to your Friends, and to the Publick, and by which you can make your own Condition happier. Happier! anſwered *Raphael*, is that to be compaſſed in a way ſo abhorrent to my Genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few Courtiers can pretend: and there are ſo very many that court the Favour of great Men, that there will be no great loſs, if they are not troubled either with me, or with others of my temper. Upon this, I ſaid, I perceive *Raphael* that you neither deſire Wealth nor Greatneſs; and indeed I value and admire ſuch a Man much more than I do any of the great Men in the World. Yet I think you would do a thing well-becoming ſo generous and ſo philoſophical a Soul as yours is, if you would apply your Time and Thoughts to Publick Affairs, even though you may happen to find that a little uneaſy to your

ſelf; and this you can never do with ſo much advantage, as by being taken into the Council of ſome great Prince, and by ſetting him on to noble and worthy Things, which I know you would do if you were in ſuch a Poſt; for the Springs, both of Good and Evil, flow over a whole Nation, from the Prince, as from a laſting Fountain. So much Learning as you have, even without practice in Affairs; or ſo great a practice as you have had, without any other Learning, would render you a very fit Counſellor to any King whatſoever, You are doubly miſtaken, ſaid he, Mr. *More*, both in your Opinion of me, and in the Judgment that you make of things: for as I have not that Capacity that you fancy to be in me; ſo if I had it, the Publick would not be one jot the better, when I had ſacrificed my quiet to it. For moſt Princes apply themſelves more to warlike Matters, than to the uſeful Arts of Peace; and in theſe I neither have any knowledg, nor do I much deſire it: They are generally more ſet on acquiring new Kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing thoſe well that they have: and among the Miniſters of Princes, there are none that

that either are not ſo wiſe as not to need any aſſiſtance, or at leaſt that do not think themſelves ſo wiſe, that they imagine they need none; and if they do court any, it is only thoſe for whom the Prince has much perſonal Favour, whom by their Faunings and Flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own Intereſts: and indeed Nature has ſo made us, that we all love to be flattered, and to pleaſe our ſelves with our own Notions. The old Crow loves his Young, and the Ape his Cubs. Now if in ſuch a Court, made up of Perſons that envy all others, and do only admire themſelves, one ſhould but propoſe any thing that he had either read in Hiſtory, or obſerved in his Travels, the reſt would think that the Reputation of their Wiſdom would ſink, and that their Intereſts would be much depreſſed, if they could not run it down: And if all other things failed, then they would fly to this, That ſuch or ſuch things pleaſed our Anceſtors, and it were well for us if we could but match them. They would ſet up their Reſt on ſuch an Anſwer, as a ſufficient confutation of all that could be ſaid; as if this were a great Miſchief, that any ſhould be found wiſer than his Anceſtors:

But tho they willingly let go all the good Things that were among thoſe of former Ages; yet if better things are propoſed, they cover themſelves obſtinately with this excuſe, of reverence to paſt Times. I have met with theſe proud, moroſe, and abſurd Judgments of Things in many places, particularly once in *England*. Was you ever there, ſaid I? Yes, I was, anſwered he, and ſtaid ſome months there, not long after the Rebellion in the Weſt was ſuppreſſed, with a great ſlaughter of the poor People that were engaged in it.

I was then much obliged to that reverend Prelate *John Morton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Cardinal, and Chancellor of *England*; a Man, ſaid he, *Peter* (for Mr. *More* knows well what he was) that was not leſs venerable for his Wiſdom and Vertues, than for the high Character he bore: He was of a middle ſtature, not broken with Age; his looks begot Reverence rather than Fear; his Converſation was eaſy, but ſerious and grave; he took pleaſure ſometimes to try the force of thoſe that came as Suiters to him upon Buſineſs, by ſpeaking ſharply, tho decently to them, and by that he diſcovered

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their Spirit and preſence of Mind; with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to an impudence, as bearing a great reſemblance to his own temper; and he look'd on ſuch Perſons as the fitteſt Men for Affairs. He ſpoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the Law, and had a vaſt Underſtanding, and a prodigious Memory: and thoſe excellent Talents with which Nature had furniſhed him, were improved by Study and Experience. When I was in *England*, the King depended much on his Councils, and the Government ſeemed to be chiefly ſupported by him; for from his Youth up, he had been all along practiſed in Affairs; and having paſſed through many Traverſes of Fortune, he had acquired to his great coſt, a vaſt ſtock of Wiſdom: which is not ſoon loſt, when it is purchaſed ſo dear. One day when I was dining with him, there hapned to be at Table one of the Engliſh Lawyers, who took occaſion to run out in a high commendation of the ſevere execution of Juſtice upon Thieves, who, as he ſaid, were then hanged ſo faſt, that there were ſometimes 20 on one Gibbet; and upon that he ſaid, he

could not wonder enough how it came to paſs, that ſince ſo few eſcaped, there were yet ſo many Thieves left who were ſtill robbing in all places. Upon this, I who took the boldneſs to ſpeak freely before the Cardinal, ſaid, There was no reaſon to wonder at the Matter, ſince this way of puniſhing Thieves, was neither juſt in it Self, nor good for the Publick; for as the Severity was too great, ſo the Remedy was not effectual; ſimple Theft not being ſo great a Crime, that it ought to coſt a Man his Life; and no Puniſhment how ſevere ſoever, being able to reſtrain thoſe from robbing, who can find out no other way of livelihood; and in this, ſaid I, not only you in *England*, but a great part of the World, imitate ſome ill Maſters, that are readier to chaſtiſe their Scholars, than to teach them. There are dreadful Puniſhments enacted againſt Thieves, but it were much better to make ſuch good Proviſions, by which every Man might be put in a Method how to live, and ſo be preſerved from the fatal neceſſity of ſtealing, and of dying for it. There has been care enough taken for that, ſaid he, there are many Handycrafts, and there is Huſbandry, by which they may

may make a ſhift to live, unleſs they have a greater mind to follow ill Courſes. That will not ſerve your turn, ſaid I, for many loſe their Limbs in Civil or Forreign Wars, as lately in the *Corniſh* Rebellion, and ſome time ago in your Wars with *France*, who being thus mutilated in the Service of their King and Country, can no more follow their old Trades, and are too old to learn new Ones: But ſince Wars are only accidental Things, and have Intervals, let us conſider thoſe Things that fall out every day. There is a great number of Noble Men among you, that live not only idle themſelves as Drones, ſubſiſting by other Mens Labours, who are their Tenants, and whom they pare to the quick, and thereby raiſe their Revenues; this being the only inſtance of their Frugality, for in all other things they are Prodigal, even to the beggering of themſelves: But beſides this, they carry about with them a huge number of idle Fellows, who never learn'd any Art by which they may gain their Living; and theſe, as ſoon as either their Lord dies, or they themſelves fall ſick, are turned out of Doors; for your Lords are readier to feed idle People, than to take care of the ſick;

ſick; and often the Heir is not able to keep together ſo great a Family as his Predeceſſor did: Now when the Stomachs of thoſe that are thus turned out of Doors, grow keen, they rob no leſs keenly; and what elſe can they do? for after that, by wandring about, they have worn out both their Health and their Cloaths, and are tattered, and look ghaſtly, Men of Quality will not entertain them, and poor Men dare not do it; knowing that one who has been bred up in Idleneſs and Pleaſure, and who was uſed to walk about with his Sword and Buckler, deſpiſing all the Neighbourhood with an inſolent Scorn, as far below him, is not fit for the Spade and Mattock: Nor will he ſerve a poor Man for ſo ſmall a Hire, and in ſo low a Diet as he can afford. To this he anſwered, This ſort of Men ought to be particularly cheriſhed among us, for in them conſiſts the Force of the Armies for which we may have occaſion; ſince their Birth inſpires them with a nobler ſence of Honour, than is to be found among Tradeſmen or Ploughmen. You may as well ſay, replied I, that you muſt cheriſh Thieves on the account of Wars, for you will never want the one, as long

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as you have the other; and as Robbers prove ſometimes gallant Souldiers, ſo Souldiers prove often brave Robbers; ſo near an Alliance there is between thoſe two ſorts of Life. But this bad cuſtom of keeping many Servants, that is ſo common among you, is not peculiar to this Nation. In *France* there is yet a more peſtiferous ſort of People, for the whole Country is full of Souldiers, that are ſtill kept up in time of Peace; if ſuch a ſtate of a Nation can be called a Peace: and theſe are kept in Pay upon the ſame account that you plead for thoſe Idle Retainers about Noble Men: this being a Maxim of thoſe pretended Stateſmen, That it is neceſſary for the Publick Safety, to have a good Body of Veteran Souldiers ever in readineſs. They think raw Men are not to be depended on, and they ſometimes ſeek Occaſions for making War, that they may train up their Souldiers in the Art of cutting Throats, or as *Saluſt* obſerved, for keeping their Hands in uſe, that they may not grow dull by too long an intermiſſion. But *France* has learn'd, to its coſt, how dangerous it is to feed ſuch Beaſts. The Fate of the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and *Syrians*, and many other Nations,

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and Cities, which were both overturned, and quite ruined by thoſe ſtanding Armies, ſhould make others wiſer: and the folly of this Maxim of the *French*, appears plainly even from this, that their trained Souldiers find your raw Men prove often too hard for them; of which I will not ſay much, leſt you may think I flatter the Engliſh Nation. Every day's Experience ſhews, that the Mechanicks in the Towns, or the Clowns in the Country, are not afraid of fighting with thoſe idle Gentlemen, if they are not diſabled by ſome Misfortune in their Body, or diſpirited by extream Want. So that you need not fear, that thoſe well-ſhaped and ſtrong Men, (for it is only ſuch that Noblemen love to keep about them, till they ſpoil them) who now grow feeble with eaſe, and are ſoftned with their effeminate manner of Life, would be leſs fit for Action if they were well bred and well employed. And it ſeems very unreaſonable, that for the proſpect of a War, which you need never have but when you pleaſe, you ſhould maintain ſo many idle Men, as will always diſturb you in time of Peace, which is ever to be more conſidered than War. But I do not think that this neceſſity

ceſſity of Stealing, ariſes only from hence, there is another Cauſe of it that is more peculiar to *England*. What is that? ſaid the Cardinal: The encreaſe of Paſture, ſaid I, by which your Sheep, that are naturally mild, and eaſily kept in order, may be ſaid now to devour Men, and unpeople, not only Villages, but Towns: For where-ever it is found, that the Sheep of any Soil yield a ſofter and richer Wool than ordinary, there the Nobility and Gentry, and even thoſe Holy Men the Abbots, not contented with the old Rents which their Farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they living at their eaſe, do no good to the Publick, reſolve to do it Hurt inſtead of Good. They ſtop the courſe of Agriculture, incloſe Grounds, and deſtroy Houſes and Towns, reſerving only the Churches, that they may lodg their Sheep in them: And as if Forreſts and Parks had ſwallowed up too little Soil, thoſe worthy Country-Men turn the beſt inhabited Places into Solitudes; for when any unſatiable Wretch, who is a Plague to his Country, reſolves to incloſe many thouſand Acres of Ground, the Owners, as well as Tenants, are turned out of their Poſſeſſions, by Tricks, or by main

main Force, or being wearied out with ill Usage, they are forced to sell them. So those miserable People, both Men and Women, Married, Unmarried, Old and Young, with their Poor, but numerous Families, (since Country-Business requires many Hands) are all forced to change their Seats, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell for almost nothing, their Houshold-stuff, which could not bring them much Mony, even tho they might stay for a Buyer: when that little Mony is at an end, for it will be soon spent; what is left for them to do, but either to steal, and so to be hanged, (God knows how justly) or to go about and beg? And if they do this, they are put in Prison as idle Vagabonds; whereas they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them; for there is no more occasion for Country Labour, to which they have been bred, when there is no Arable Ground left. One Shepherd can look after a Flock, which will stock an extent of Ground that would require many hands, if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewise raises the price of Corn in many places. The price of Wool is also so risen, that the poor People who

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were wont to make Cloth, are no more able to buy it; and this likewiſe makes many of them idle: For ſince the increaſe of Paſture, God has puniſhed the Avarice of the Owners, by a Rot among the Sheep, which has deſtroyed vaſt numbers of them, but had been more juſtly laid upon the Owners themſelves. But ſuppoſe the Sheep ſhould encreaſe ever ſo much, their Price is not like to fall; ſince tho they cannnt be called a *Monopoly*, becauſe they are not engroſſed by one Perſon, yet they are in ſo few hands, and theſe are ſo rich, that as they are not preſt to ſell them ſooner than they have a mind to it, ſo they never do it till they have raiſed the Price as high as is poſſible. And on the ſame account it is, that the other kinds of Cattel are ſo dear, and ſo much the more, becauſe that many Villages being pulled down, and all Country-Labour being much neglected, there are none that look after the breeding of them. The Rich do not breed Cattel as they do Sheep, but buy them Lean, and at low Prices; and after they have fatned them on their Grounds, they ſell them again at high rates. And I do not think that all the Inconveniences that this will produce,

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are yet obſerved; for as they ſell the Cattle dear, ſo if they are conſumed faſter then the breeding Countries from which they are brought, can afford them; then the ſtock moſt decreaſe, and this muſt needs end in a great Scarcity; and by theſe means this your Iſland, that ſeemed as to this particular, the happieſt in the World, will ſuffer much by the curſed Avarice of a few Perſons; beſides that, the riſing of Corn makes all People leſſen their Families as much as they can; and what can thoſe who are diſmiſſed by them do, but either Beg or Rob? And to this laſt, a Man of a great Mind is much ſooner drawn than to the former. Luxury likewiſe breaks in apace upon you, to ſet forward your Poverty and Miſery; there is an exceſſive Vanity in Apparel, and great Coſt in Diet; and that not only in Noblemens Families, but even among Tradeſmen, and among the Farmers themſelves, and among all Ranks of Perſons. You have alſo many infamous Houſes, and beſides thoſe that are known, the Taverns and Alehouſes are no better; add to theſe, Dice, Cards, Tables, Football, Tennis, and Coits, in which Mony runs faſt away; and thoſe that are initiated into them, muſt in con-

concluſion betake themſelves to robbing for a ſupply. Baniſh thoſe Plagues, and give order that theſe who have diſpeopled ſo much Soil, may either rebuild the Villages that they have pulled down, or let out their Grounds to ſuch as will do it: Reſtrain thoſe engroſſings of the Rich, that are as bad almoſt as *Monopolies*; leave fewer Occaſions to Idleneſs; let Agriculture be ſet up again, and the Manufacture of the Wooll be regulated, that ſo there may be Work found for theſe Companies of Idle People, whom want Forces to be Thieves, or who now being idle Vagabonds, or uſeleſs Servants, will certainly grow Thieves at laſt. If you do not find a Remedy to theſe Evils, it is a vain thing to boaſt of your Severity of puniſhing Theft; which tho it may have the appearance of Juſtice, yet in it ſelf it is neither juſt nor convenient: for if you ſuffer your People to be ill Educated, and their Manners to be corrupted from their Infancy, and then puniſh them for thoſe Crimes to which their firſt Education diſpoſed them, what elſe is to be concluded from this, but that you firſt make Thieves, and then puniſh them?

While I was talking thus, the Counſellor that was preſent had prepared an Anſwer, and had reſolved to reſume all I had ſaid, according to the Formality of a Debate, in which things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are anſwered; as if the chief trial that were to be made, were of Mens Memories. So he ſaid to me, you have talked prettily for a Stranger, having heard of many things among us, which you have not been able to conſider well; but I will make the whole Matter plain to you, and will firſt repeat in order all that you have ſaid, then I will ſhew how much the ignorance of our Affairs has miſled you, and will in the laſt place anſwer all your Arguments. And that I may begin where I promiſed, there were four things——— Hold your Peace, ſaid the Cardinal, for you will not have done ſoon that begin thus; therefore we will at preſent eaſe you of the trouble of anſwering, and reſerve it to our next meeting, which ſhall be to morrow, if *Raphael*'s Affairs and yours can admit of it: But *Raphael*, ſaid he to me, I would gladly know of you upon what Reaſon it is that you think Theft ought not to be puniſhed by Death?

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Would you give way to it? or do you propoſe any other Puniſhment that will be more uſeful to the Publick? For ſince Death does not reſtrain Theft, if Men thought their Lives would be ſafe, what Fear or Force could reſtrain ill Men? On the contrary, they would look on the mitigation of the Puniſhment, as an invitation to commit more Crimes. I anſwered, It ſeems to me a very unjuſt thing to take away a Man's Life for a little Mony; for nothing in the World can be of equal value with a Man's Life: And if it is ſaid, that it is not for the Mony that one ſuffers, but for his breaking the Law; I muſt ſay, extream Juſtice is an extream Injury: for we ought not to approve of theſe terrible Laws that make the ſmalleſt Offences capital; nor of that Opinion of the *Stoicks* that makes all Crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a Man, and the taking his Purſe; between which if we examine things impartially, there is no likeneſs nor proportion. God has commanded us not to kill, and ſhall we kill ſo eaſily for a little Mony? But if one ſhall ſay, That by that Law we are only forbid to kill any, except when the Laws of the Land

allow of it; upon the ſame Grounds, Laws may be made to allow of Adultery and Perjury in ſome Caſes: for God having taken from us the Right of diſpoſing, either of our own, or of other Peoples Lives, if it is pretended that the mutual Conſent of Men in making Laws, allowing of Manſlaughter in Caſes in which God has given us no Example, frees People from the Obligation of the Divine Law, and ſo makes Murder a lawful Action; What is this, but to give a preference to Humane Laws before the Divine? And if this is once admitted, by the ſame Rule Men may in all other things put what Reſtrictions they pleaſe upon the Laws of God. If by the *Moſaical* Law, tho it was rough and ſevere, as being a Yoke laid on an obſtinate and ſervile Nation, Men were only fined, and not put to death for Theft; we cannot imagine that in this new Law of Mercy, in which God treats us with the tenderneſs of a Father, he has given us a greater Licenſe to Cruelty, than he did to the *Jews*. Upon theſe Reaſons it is, that I think the putting Thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is abſurd, and of ill Conſequence to the Common-Wealth, that

that a Thief and a Murderer ſhould be equally puniſhed: for if a Robber ſees that his Danger is the ſame, if he is convicted of Theft, as if he were guilty of Murder, this will naturally ſet him on to kill the Perſon whom otherwiſe he would only have robbed, ſince if the Puniſhment is the ſame, there is more ſecurity, and leſs danger of diſcovery, when he that can beſt make it is put out of the way; ſo that the terrifying Thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty.

But as to the Queſtion, What more convenient way of Puniſhment can be found? I think it is much eaſier to find out that, than to invent any thing that is worſe; Why ſhould we doubt but the way that was ſo long in uſe among the old *Romans*, who underſtood ſo well the Arts of Government, was very proper for their Puniſhment? they condemned ſuch as they found guilty of great Crimes, to work their whole Lives in Quarries, or to dig in Mines with Chains about them. But the Method that I liked beſt, was that which I obſerved in my Travels in *Perſia*, among the *Polylerits*, who are a conſiderable and well-governed People. They pay a yearly Tribute to the King

of *Perſia*; but in all other reſpects they are a free Nation, and governed by their own Laws. They lie far from the Sea, and are environed with Hills; and being contented with the Productions of their own Country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with any other Nation; and as they, according to the Genius of their Country, have no appetite of inlarging their Borders; ſo their Mountains, and the Penſion that they pay to the *Perſian*, ſecure them from all Invaſions. Thus they have no Wars among them; they live rather conveniently than ſplendidly, and may be rather called a Happy Nation, than either Eminent or Famous; for I do not think that they are known ſo much as by Name to any but their next Neighbours. Thoſe that are found guilty of Theft among them, are bound to make reſtitution to the Owner, and not as it is in other places, to the Prince, for they reckon that the Prince has no more right to the ſtollen Goods than the Thief; but if that which was ſtollen is no more in being, then the Goods of the Thieves are eſtimated, and Reſtitution being made out of them, the Remainder is given to their Wives and Children:

Children: And they themſelves are condemned to ſerve in the Publick Works, but are neither impriſoned, nor chained, unleſs there hapned to be ſome extraordinary Circumſtances in their Crimes. They go about looſe and free, working for the Publick: If they are Idle or backward to work, they are whipp'd; but if they work hard, they are well uſed and treated without any mark of Reproach, only the Liſts of them are called always at Night, and then they are ſhut up, and they ſuffer no other uneaſineſs, but this of conſtant Labour; for as they work for the Publick, ſo they are well entertained out of the Publick Stock, which is done differently in different places: In ſome places, that which is beſtowed on them, is raiſed by a charitable Contribution; and tho this way may ſeem uncertain, yet ſo merciful are the Inclinations of that People, that they are plentifully ſupplied by it; but in other places Publick Revenues are ſet aſide for them; or there is a conſtant Tax of a Poll-mony raiſed for their Maintenance. In ſome places they are ſet to no Publick Work, but every privat Man that has occaſion to hire Workmen, goes to the Market-places and hires them

of the Publick, a little lower than he would do a Free-man: If they go lazily about their Task, he may quicken them with the Whip. By this means there is always ſome piece of Work or other to be done by them; and beſide their Livelyhood, they earn ſomewhat ſtill to the Publick. They wear all a peculiar Habit, of one certain colour, and their Hair is cropt a little above their Ears, and a little of one of their Ears is cut off. Their Friends are allowed to give them either Meat, Drink, or Clothes, ſo they are of their proper Colour; but it is Death, both to the Giver and Taker, if they give them Mony; nor is it leſs penal for any Free-man to take Mony from them, upon any account whatſoever: And it is alſo Death for any of theſe *Slaves* (ſo they are called) to handle Arms. Thoſe of every Diviſion of the Country, are diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar Mark: And it is capital to lay that aſide, and ſo it is alſo to go out of their Bounds, or to talk with a Slave of another Juriſdiction; and the very attempt of an eſcape, is no leſs penal than an eſcape it ſelf; it is Death for any other Slave to be acceſſary to it: If a Free-man engages in it, he is condemned to

ſlavery;

ſlavery: Thoſe that diſcover it are rewarded; if Free-men, in Mony; and if Slaves, with Liberty, together with a Pardon for being acceſſary to it; that ſo they may find their Account, rather in repenting of their acceſſion to ſuch a deſign, than in perſiſting in it.

Theſe are their Laws and Rules in this Matter; in which both the Gentleneſs and the Advantages of them are very obvious; ſince by theſe Means, as Vices are deſtroyed, ſo Men are preſerved; but are ſo treated, that they ſee the neceſſity of being good: and by the reſt of their Life they make reparation for the Miſchief they had formerly done. Nor is there any hazard of their falling back to their old Cuſtoms: And ſo little do Travellers apprehend Miſchief from them, that they generally make uſe of them for Guides, from one Juriſdiction to another; for there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it, ſince as they are diſarmed, ſo the very having of Mony is a ſufficient Conviction: and as they are certainly puniſhed if diſcovered, ſo they cannot hope to eſcape: for their Habit being in all the parts of it different

ferent from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unleſs they ſhould go naked, and even then their crop'd Ear would betray them. The only danger to be feared from them, is their conſpiring againſt the Government: but thoſe of one Diviſion and Neighbourhood can do nothing to any purpoſe, unleſs a general Conſpiracy were laid amongſt all the Slaves of the ſeveral Juriſdictions, which cannot be done, ſince they cannot meet or talk together; nor will any venture on a Deſign where the Concealment would be ſo dangerous, and the Diſcovery ſo profitable: and none of them is quite hopeleſs of recovering his Freedom, ſince by their Obedience and Patience, and by giving grounds to believe that they will change their manner of Life for the future, they may expect at laſt to obtain their Liberty: and ſome are every Year reſtored to it, upon the good Character that is given of them. When I had related all this, I added, That I did not ſee why ſuch a Method might not be followed with more advantage, than could ever be expected from that ſevere Juſtice which the Counſellor magnified ſo much.

To

To all this he anſwered, That it could never be ſo ſetled in *England*, without endangering the whole Nation by it; and as he ſaid that, he ſhook his Head, and made ſome grimaces, and ſo held his peace; and all the Company ſeemed to be of his mind: only the Cardinal ſaid, It is not eaſy to gueſs whether it would ſucceed well or ill, ſince no trial has been made of it: But if when the Sentence of Death were paſt upon a Thief, the Prince would reprieve him for a while, and make the Experiment upon him, denying him the privilege of a Sanctuary; then if it had a good effect upon him, it might take place; and if it ſucceeded not, the worſt would be, to execute the Sentence on the condemned Perſons at laſt. And I do not ſee, ſaid he, why it would be either injuſt or inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of ſuch a delay: And I think the Vagabonds ought to be treated in the ſame manner, againſt whom tho we have made many Laws, yet we have not been able to gain our end by them all. When the Cardinal had ſaid this, then they all fell to commend the Motion, tho they had deſpiſed it when it came from me; but they did more particularly commend

that

that concerning the Vagabonds, becauſe it had been added by him.

I do not know whether it be worth the while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous; but I ſhall venture at it, for as it is not forreign to this Matter, ſo ſome good uſe may be made of it. There was a Jeſter ſtanding by, that counterfeited the Fool ſo naturally, that he ſeemed to be really one. The Jeſts at which he offered were ſo cold and dull, that we laughed more at him than at them; yet ſometimes he ſaid, as it were by chance, things that were not unpleaſant; ſo as to juſtify the old Proverb, *That he who throws the Dice often, will ſometimes have a lucky Hit.* When one of the Company had ſaid, that I had taken care of the Thieves, and the Cardinal had taken care of the Vagabonds, ſo that there remained nothing but that ſome publick Proviſion might be made for the Poor, whom Sickneſs or Old Age had diſabled from Labour: Leave that to me, ſaid the Fool, and I ſhall take care of them; for there is no ſort of People whoſe ſight I abhor more, having been ſo often vexed with them, and with their ſad Complaints; but as dolefully ſoeveras they have told their Tale to me, they could

could never prevail ſo far as to draw one Penny of Mony from me: for either I had no mind to give them any thing, or when I had a mind to it, I had nothing to give them: and they now know me ſo well, that they will not loſe their labour on me, but let me paſs without giving me any trouble, becauſe they hope for nothing from me, no more in faith than if I were a *Prieſt*: But I would have a Law made, for ſending all theſe Beggars to Monaſteries, the Men to the *Benedictines* to be Lay-Brothers, and the Women to be Nuns. The Cardinal ſmiled, and approved of it in jeſt; but the reſt liked it in earneſt. There was a Divine preſent, who tho he was a grave moroſe Man, yet he was ſo pleaſed with this Reflection that was made on the Prieſts and the Monks, that he began to play with the Fool, and ſaid to him, This will not deliver you from all Beggers, except you take care of us *Friars*. That is done already, anſwered the Fool, for the Cardinal has provided for you, by what he propoſed for the reſtraining Vagabonds, and ſetting them to work, for I know no Vagabonds like you. This was well entertained by the whole Company, who looking at the

the Cardinal, perceived that he was not ill pleaſed at it; only the Friar himſelf was ſo bit, as may be eaſily imagined, and fell out into ſuch a paſſion, that he could not forbear railing at the Fool, and called him *Knave*, *Slanderer*, *Backbiter*, and *Son of Perdition*, and cited ſome dreadful Threatnings out of the Scriptures againſt him. Now the Jeſter thought he was in his Element, and laid about him freely: he ſaid, Good Friar be not angry, for it is written, *In patience poſſeſs your Soul.* The Friar anſwered, (for I ſhall give you his own words) I am not angry, you Hangman; at leaſt I do not ſin in it, for the Pſalmiſt ſays, *Be ye angry, and ſin not.* Upon this the Cardinal admoniſhed him gently, and wiſhed him to govern his Paſſions. No, my Lord, ſaid he, I ſpeak not but from a good Zeal, which I ought to have; for Holy Men have had a good Zeal, as it is ſaid, *The Zeal of thy Houſe hath eaten me up*; and we ſing in our Church, that thoſe who mock'd *Eliſha* as he went up to the Houſe of God, felt the Effects of his Zeal; which that Mocker, that Rogue, that Scoundrel, will perhaps feel. You do this perhaps with a goodintention, ſaid the Cardinal; but in my Opinion, it were

wiſer

wiſer in you, not to ſay better for you, not to engage in ſo ridiculous a Conteſt with a Fool. No, my Lord, anſwered he, that were not wiſely done; for *Solomon*, the wiſeſt of Men, ſaid, *Anſwer a Fool according to his folly*; which I now do, and ſhew him the Ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it; for if the many Mockers of *Eliſha*, who was but one bald Man, felt the Effect of his Zeal, What will become of one Mocker of ſo many Friars, among whom there are ſo many bald Men? We have likewiſe a Bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated. When the Cardinal ſaw that there was no end of this Matter, he made a ſign to the Fool to withdraw, and turned the Diſcourſe another way; and ſoon after he roſe from the Table, and diſmiſſing us, he went to hear Cauſes.

Thus, Mr. *More*, I have run out into a tedious Story, of the length of which I had been aſhamed, if, as you earneſtly begged it of me, I had not obſerved you to hearken to it, as if you had no mind to loſe any part of it: I might have contracted it, but I reſolved to give it you at large, that you might obſerve how thoſe that had deſpiſed what I had

propoſed,

propoſed, no ſooner perceived that the Cardinal did not diſlike it, but they preſently approved of it, and fawned ſo on him, and flattered him to ſuch a degree, that they in good earneſt applauded thoſe things that he only liked in jeſt. And from hence you may gather, how little Courtiers would value either me or my Counſels.

To this I anſwered, You have done me a great kindneſs in this Relation; for as every thing has been related by you, both wiſely and pleaſantly, ſo you have made me imagine, that I was in my own Country, and grown young again, by recalling that good Cardinal into my thoughts, in whoſe Family I was bred from my Childhood: And tho you are upon other accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer, becauſe you honour his Memory ſo much: but after all this I cannot change my Opinion, for I ſtill think that if you could overcome that averſion which you have to the Courts of Princes, you might do a great deal of good to Mankind, by the Advices that you would give; and this is the chief Deſign that every good Man ought to propoſe to himſelf in living: for whereas your Friend *Plato* thinks that

then

then Nations will be happy, when either Philoſophers become Kings, or Kings become Philoſophers. No wonder if we are ſo far from that Happineſs, if Philoſophers will not think it fit for them to aſſiſt Kings with their Councels. They are not ſo baſe minded, ſaid he, but that they would willingly do it: many of them have already done it by their Books, if theſe that are in Power would hearken to their good Advices. But *Plato* judged right, that except Kings themſelves became Philoſophers, it could never be brought about, that they who from their Childhood are corrupted with falſe Notions, ſhould fall in intirely with the Counſels of Philoſophers, which he himſelf found to be true in the Perſon of *Dionyſius*.

Do not you think, that if I were about any King, and were propoſing good Laws to him, and endeavouring to root out of him all the curſed Seeds of Evil that I found in him, I ſhould either be turned out of his Court, or at leaſt be laughed at for my pains? For Inſtance, What could I ſignify if I were about the King of *France*, and were called into his Cabinet-Council, where ſeveral wiſe Men do in his hearing

propoſe many Expedients; as by what Arts and Practices *Milan* may be kept; and *Naples*, that has ſo oft ſlip'd out of their hands, recovered; and how the *Venetians*, and after them the reſt of *Italy* may be ſubdued; and then how *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and all *Burgundy*, and ſome other Kingdoms which he has ſwallowed already in his Deſigns, may be added to his Empire. One propoſes a League with the *Venetians*, to be kept as long as he finds his account in it, and that he ought to communicate Councils with them, and give them ſome ſhare of the Spoil, till his Succeſs makes him need or fear them leſs, and then it will be eaſily taken out of their Hands. Another propoſes the hireing the *Germans*, and the ſecuring the *Switzers* by Penſions. Another propoſes the gaining the Emperor by Mony, which is Omnipotent with him. Another propoſes a Peace with the King of *Arragon*, and in order to the cementing it, the yielding up the King of *Navar*'s Pretenſions. Another thinks the Prince of *Caſtile* is to be wrought on, by the hope of an Alliance; and that ſome of his Courtiers are to be gained to the French Faction by Penſions. The hardeſt Point

of

of all is, what to do with *England*: a Treaty of Peace is to be ſet on foot, and if their Alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as can be; and they are to be called Friends, but ſuſpected as Enemies: Therefore the Scots are to be kept in readineſs, to be let looſe upon *England* on every occaſion; and ſome baniſhed Nobleman is to be ſupported underhand, (for by the League it cannot be done avowedly) who has a pretenſion to the Crown, by which means that ſuſpected Prince may be kept in awe. Now when things are in ſo great a Fermentation, and ſo many gallant Men are joining Councils, how to carry on the War, if ſo mean a Man as I am ſhould ſtand up, and wiſh them to change all their Councils, to let *Italy* alone, and ſtay at home, ſince the Kingdom of *France* was indeed greater than that it could be well governed by one Man; So that he ought not to think of adding others to it: And if after this, I ſhould propoſe to them the Reſolutions of the *Achorians*, a People that lie over againſt the Iſle of *Utopia* to the South-eaſt, who having long ago engaged in a War, that they might gain another Kingdom to their

King, who had a Pretenſion to it by an old Alliance, by which it had deſcended to him; and having conquered it, when they found that the trouble of keeping it, was equal to that of gaining it; for the conquered People would be ſtill apt to rebel, or be expoſed to Forreign Invaſions, ſo that they muſt always be in War, either for them, or againſt them; and that therefore they could never diſband their Army: That in the mean time Taxes lay heavy on them, that Mony went out of the Kingdom; that their Blood was ſacrificed to their King's *Glory*, and that they were nothing the better by it, even in time of Peace; their Manners being corrupted by a long War; Robbing and Murders abounding every where, and their Laws falling under contempt, becauſe their King being diſtracted with the Cares of the Kingdom, was leſs able to apply his Mind to any one of them; when they ſaw there would be no end of thoſe Evils, they by joint Councils made an humble Addreſs to their King, deſiring him to chuſe which of the two Kingdoms he had the greateſt mind to keep, ſince he could not hold both; for they were too great a People to be governed by a divided King, ſince

ſince no Man would willingly have a Groom that ſhould be in common between him and another. Upon which the good Prince was forced to quit his new Kingdom to one of his Friends, (who was not long after dethroned) and to be contented with his old One. To all this I would add, that after all thoſe Warlike Attempts, and the vaſt Confuſions, with the Conſumptions both of Treaſure and of People, that muſt follow them; perhaps upon ſome Misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at laſt; therefore it ſeemed much more eligible that the King ſhould improve his ancient Kingdom all he could, and make it flouriſh as much as was poſſible; that he ſhould love his People, and be beloved of them; that he ſhould live among them, and govern them gently; and that he ſhould let other Kingdoms alone, ſince that which had fallen to his ſhare was big enough, if not too big for him. Pray how do you think would ſuch a Speech as this be heard? I confeſs, ſaid I, I think not very well.

But what ſaid he, if I ſhould ſort with another kind of Miniſters, whoſe chief Contrivances and Conſultations were, by

what Art Treaſure might be heaped up? Where one propoſes, the crying up of Mony, when the King had a great Debt on him, and the crying it down as much when his Revenues were to come in, that ſo he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal: Another propoſes a pretence of a War, that ſo Money might be raiſed in order to the carrying it on, and that a Peace might be concluded as ſoon as that was done; and this was to be made up with ſuch appearances of Religion as might work on the People, and make them impute it to the piety of their Prince, and to his tenderneſs of the Lives of his Subjects. A third offers ſome old muſty Laws, that have been antiquated by a long diſuſe; and which, as they had been forgotten by all the Subjects, ſo they had been alſo broken by them; and that the levying of the Penalties of theſe Laws, as it would bring in a vaſt Treaſure, ſo there might be a very good Pretence for it, ſince it would look like the executing of Law, and the doing of Juſtice. A fourth propoſes the prohibiting of many things under ſevere Penalties, eſpecially ſuch things as were againſt the Intereſt of the People, and then the diſpen-

diſpenſing with theſe Prohibitions upon great Compoſitions, to thoſe who might make Advantages by breaking them. This would ſerve two ends, both of them acceptable to many; for as thoſe whoſe Avarice led them to tranſgreſs, would be ſeverely fined; ſo the ſelling Licences dear, would look as if a Prince were tender of his People, and would not eaſily, or at low Rates, diſpenſe with any thing that might be againſt the Publick Good. Another propoſes, that the Judges muſt be made ſure, that they may declare always in favor of the Prerogative, that they muſt be often ſent for to Court, that the King may hear them argue thoſe Points in which he is concerned; ſince that how unjuſt ſoever any of his Pretenſions may be, yet ſtill ſome one or other of them, either out of contradiction to others, or the pride of ſingularity, or that they may make their Court, would find out ſome Pretence or other to give the King a fair colour to carry the Point: For if the Judges but differ in Opinion, the cleareſt thing in the World is made by that means diſputable, and Truth being once brought in queſtion, the King upon that may take advantage to expound the Law for his

own profit: the Judges that ſtand out will be brought over, either out of fear or modeſty; and they being thus gained, all of them may be ſent to the Bench to give Sentence boldly, as the King would have it: for fair Pretences will never be wanting when Sentence is to be given in the Prince's Favor: it will either be ſaid, that Equity lies of his ſide, or ſome words in the Law will be found ſounding that way, or ſome forced ſence will be put on them; and when all other things fail, the King's undoubted Prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all Law; and to which a Religious Judg ought to have a ſpecial regard. Thus all conſent to that Maxim of *Craſſus*, That a Prince cannot have Treaſure enough, ſince he muſt maintain his Armies out of it: that a King, even tho he would, can do nothing unjuſtly; that all Property is in him, not excepting the very Perſons of his Subjects: And that no Man has any other Property, but that which the King out of his goodneſs thinks fit to leave him: and they think it is the Prince's Intereſt, that there be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his advantage that his People ſhould have neither Riches nor Liberty; ſince

theſe

theſe things make them leſs eaſy and tame to a cruel and injuſt Government; whereas Neceſſity and Poverty blunts them, makes them patient, and bears them down, and breaks that height of Spirit, that might otherwiſe diſpoſe them to rebel. Now what if after all theſe Propoſitions were made, I ſhould riſe up and aſſert, That ſuch Councels were both unbecoming a King, and miſchievous to him: and that not only his Honor but his Safety conſiſted more in his Peoples Wealth, than in his own; if I ſhould ſhew, that they chooſe a King for their own ſake, and not for his; that by his care and endeavors they may be both eaſy and ſafe: and that therefore a Prince ought to take more care of his Peoples Happineſs, than of his own, as a Shepherd is to take more care of his Flock than of himſelf. It is alſo certain, that they are much miſtaken, that think the Poverty of a Nation is a means of the Publick Safety: Who quarrel more than Beggers do? who does more earneſtly long for a change, than he that is uneaſy in his preſent Circumſtances? and who run in to create Confuſions with ſo deſperate a boldneſs, as thoſe who having nothing to loſe, hope to gain by them? If

a King ſhould fall under ſo much contempt or envy, that he could not keep his Subjects in their Duty, but by Oppreſſion and ill Uſage, and by impoveriſhing them, it were certainly better for him to quit his Kingdom, than to retain it by ſuch Methods, by which tho he keeps the Name of Authority, yet he loſes the Majeſty due to it. Nor is it ſo becoming the Dignity of a King to reign over Beggars, as to reign over rich and happy Subjects. And therefore *Fabritius*, that was a Man of a noble and exalted Temper, ſaid, He would rather govern rich Men, than be rich himſelf; and for one Man to abound in Wealth and Pleaſure, when all about him are mourning and groaning, is to be a Goaler and not a King. He is an unskilful Phyſician, that cannot cure a Diſeaſe, but by caſting his Patient into another: So he that can find no other way for correcting the Errors of his People, but by taking from them the Conveniences of Life, ſhews that he knows not what it is to govern a free Nation. He himſelf ought rather to ſhake off his Sloth, or to lay down his Pride; for the Contempt or Hatred that his People have for him, takes its riſe from the Vices in himſelf.

himſelf. Let him live upon what belongs to himſelf, without wronging others, and accommodate his Expence to his Revenue. Let him puniſh Crimes, and by his wiſe Conduct let him endeavour to prevent them, rather than be ſevere when he has ſuffered them to be too common: Let him not raſhly revive Laws that are abrogated by diſuſe, eſpecially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted. And let him never take any Penalty for the breach of them, to which a Judg would not give way in a private Man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjuſt Perſon for pretending to it. To theſe things I would add, that Law among the *Macarians*, that lie not far from *Utopia*, by which their King, in the day on which he begins to reign, is tied by an Oath confirmed by ſolemn Sacrifices, never to have at once above a thouſand Pounds of Gold in his Treaſures, or ſo much Silver as is equal to that in value. This Law, as they ſay, was made by an excellent King, who had more regard to the Riches of his Country, than to his own Wealth; and ſo provided againſt the heaping up of ſo much Treaſure, as might impoveriſh the People: he thought that moderate Sum might

might be ſufficient for any Accident; if either the King had occaſion for it againſt Rebels, or the Kingdom againſt the Invaſion of an Enemy, but that it was not enough to encourage a Prince to invade other Mens Rights, which was the chief cauſe of his making that Law. He alſo thought, that it was a good Proviſion for a free circulation of Mony, that is neceſſary for the courſe of Commerce and Exchange: And when a King muſt diſtribute all theſe extraordinary Acceſſions that encreaſe Treaſure beyond the due pitch, it makes him leſs diſpoſed to oppreſs his Subjects. Such a King as this is, will be the terror of ill Men, and will be beloved of all good Men.

If, I ſay, I ſhould talk of theſe or ſuch like things, to Men that had taken their biaſs another way, how deaf would they be to it all? No doubt, very deaf, anſwered I; and no wonder, for one is never to offer at Propoſitions or Advices, that he is certain will not be entertained. Diſcourſes ſo much out of the road could not avail any thing, nor have any effect on Men, whoſe Minds were prepoſſeſſed with different Sentiments. This Philoſophical way of Speculation, is not unpleaſant among Friends in a free Converſation; but

but there is no room for it in the Courts of Princes, where great Affairs are carried on by Authority. That is what I was ſaying, replied he, that there is no room for Philoſophy in the Courts of Princes. Yes, there is, ſaid I, but not for this Speculative Philoſophy, that makes every thing to be alike fitting at all times: But there is another Philoſophy that is more pliable, that knows its proper Scene, and accommodates it ſelf to it; and that teaches a Man to act that part which has fallen to his ſhare, fitly and decently. If when one of *Plautus*'s Comedies is upon the Stage, and a Company of Servants are acting their parts, you ſhould come out in the Garb of a Philoſopher, and repeat out of *Octavia*, a Diſcourſe of *Seneca*'s to *Nero*, had it not been better for you to have ſaid nothing, than by mixing things of ſuch different Natures, to have made ſuch an impertinent Tragi-Comedy? for you ſpoil and corrupt the Play that is in hand, when you mix with it things diſagreeing to it, even tho they were better than it is: therefore go through with the Play that is acting, the beſt you can; and do not confound it, becauſe another that is pleaſanter comes into your thoughts. It

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is even ſo in a Common-Wealth, and in the Councils of Princes; if ill Opinions cannot be quite rooted out; and if you cannot cure ſome received Vices according to your wiſhes, you muſt not therefore abandon the Common-Wealth; or forſake the Ship in a Storm, becauſe you cannot command the Winds; nor ought you to aſſault People with Diſcourſes that are out of their Road, when you ſee their Notions are ſuch that you can make no impreſſion on them: but you ought to caſt about, and as far as you can to manage things dextrouſly, that ſo if you cannot make Matters go well, they may be as little ill as is poſſible; for except all Men were good, all things cannot go well; which I do not hope to ſee in a great while. By this, anſwered he, all that I ſhall do ſhall be to preſerve my ſelf from being mad, while I endeavour to cure the madneſs of other People: for if I will ſpeak truth, I muſt ſay ſuch things as I was formerly ſaying; and for lying, whether a Philoſopher can do it or not, I cannot tell; I am ſure I cannot do it. But tho theſe Diſcourſes may be uneaſy and ungrateful to them, I do not ſee why they ſhould ſeem fooliſh or extravagant:

indeed

indeed if I ſhould either propoſe ſuch things as *Plato* has contrived in his Common-Wealth, or as the *Utopians* practiſe in theirs, tho they might ſeem better, as certainly they are, yet they are ſo quite different from our Eſtabliſhment, which is founded on Property, there being no ſuch thing among them, that I could not expect that it ſhould have any effect on them: But ſuch Diſcourſes as mine, that only call paſt Evils to mind, and give warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is ſo abſurd, that they may not be uſed at any time; for they can only be unpleaſant to thoſe who are reſolved to run headlong the contrary way: and if we muſt let alone every thing as abſurd or extravagant, which by reaſon of the wicked Lives of many may ſeem uncouth, we muſt, even among Chriſtians, give over preſſing the greateſt part of thoſe things that Chriſt hath taught us: tho he has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the Houſe-tops that which he taught in ſecret. The greateſt parts of his Precepts are more diſagreeing to the Lives of the Men of this Age, than any part of my Diſcourſe has been: But the Preachers ſeem to have

learn'd

learn'd that craft to which you advise me; for they observing that the World would not willingly sute their Lives to the Rules that Christ has given, have fitted his Doctrine, as if it had been a leaden Rule, to their Lives; that so some way or other they might agree with one another. But I see no other effect of this compliance, except it be that Men become more secure in their wickedness by it. And this is all the success that I can have in a Court; for I must always differ from the rest, and then I will signify nothing; or if I agree with them, then I will only help forward their madness. I do not comprehend what you mean by your casting about, or by the bending and handling things so dextrously, that if they go not well, they may go as little ill as may be: for in Courts they will not bear with a Man's holding his peace, or conniving at them: a Man must bare-facedly approve of the worst Councils, and consent to the blackest Designs: So that one would pass for a Spy, or possibly for a Traitor, that did but coldly approve of such wicked Practices: And when a Man is engaged in such a Society, he will be so far from being able to mend Matters by his casting

caſting about, as you call it, that he will find no occaſions of doing any good: the ill Company will ſooner corrupt him, than be the better for him: or if notwithſtanding all their ill Company, he remains ſtill entire and innocent, yet their Follies and Knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing Councils with them, he muſt bear his ſhare of all the blame that belongs wholly to others.

It was no ill Simily, by which *Plato* ſet forth the unreaſonableneſs of a Philoſopher's medling with Government: If one, ſays he, ſhall ſee a great company run out into the Rain every day, and delight to be wet in it; and if he knows that it will be to no purpoſe for him to go and perſwade them to come into their Houſes, and avoid the Rain; ſo that all that can be expected from his going to ſpeak to them, will be, that he ſhall be wet with them; when it is ſo, he does beſt to keep within Doors, and preſerve himſelf, ſince he cannot prevail enough to correct other Peoples Folly.

Tho to ſpeak plainly what is my Heart, I muſt freely own to you, that as long as there is any Property, and while Mony is the Standard of all other things, I cannot

think that a Nation can be governed either Juſtly or Happily: Not Juſtly, becauſe the beſt things will fall to the ſhare of the worſt of Men: Nor Happily, becauſe all things will be divided among a few, (and even theſe are not in all reſpects happy) the reſt being left to be abſolutely miſerable. Therefore when I reflect on the wiſe and good Conſtitutions of the *Utopians*, among whom all things are ſo well governed, and with ſo few Laws; and among whom as Vertue hath its due reward, yet there is ſuch an equality, that every Man lives in plenty; and when I compare with them ſo many other Nations that are ſtill making new Laws, and yet can never bring their Conſtitution to a right Regulation, among whom tho every one has his Property; yet all the Laws that they can invent, cannot prevail ſo far, that Men can either obtain or preſerve it, or be certainly able to diſtinguiſh what is their own, from what is another Man's; of which the many Law Suits that every day break out, and depend without any end, give too plain a demonſtration: When, I ſay, I ballance all theſe things in my thoughts, I grow more favourable to *Plato*, and do not wonder

wonder that he resolved, not to make any Laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things: For so wise a Man as he was, could not but foresee that the setting all upon the Level, was the only way to make a Nation happy; which cannot be obtained so long as there is Property: for when every Man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one Title or another, it must needs follow, that how plentiful soever a Nation may be, yet a few dividing the Wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall under Poverty. So that there will be two sorts of People among them, that deserve that their Fortunes should be interchanged; the former being useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their constant industry serve the Publick more than themselves, being sincere and modest Men. From whence I am perswaded, that till Property is taken away, there can be no equitable or just distribution made of things, nor can the World be happily governed: for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of Mankind, will be still oppressed with a load of Cares and Anxieties. I confess, without the taking of it quite away, those

Preſſures that lie on a great part of Mankind, may be made lighter; but they can never be quite removed. For if Laws were made, determining at how great an extent in Soil, and at how much Mony every Man muſt ſtop, and limiting the Prince that he may not grow too great, and reſtraining the People that they may not become too inſolent, and that none might factiouſly aſpire to publick Employments; and that they might neither be ſold, nor made burdenſome by a great expence; ſince otherwiſe thoſe that ſerve in them, will be tempted to reimburſe themſelves by Cheats and Violence, and it will become neceſſary to find out rich Men for undergoing thoſe Employments for which wiſe Men ought rather to be ſought out; theſe Laws, I ſay, may have ſuch Effects, as good Diet and Care may have on a Sick Man, whoſe recovery is deſperate: they may allay and mitigate the Diſeaſe, but it can never be quite healed, nor the Body Politick be brought again to a good Habit, as long as Property remains; and it will fall out as in a complication of Diſeaſes, that by applying a Remedy to one Sore, you will provoke another; and that which removes the

one ill Symptom, produces others, while the ſtrengthning of one part of the Body weakens the reſt. On the contrary, anſwered I, it ſeems to me that Men cannot live conveniently, where all things are common: How can there be any Plenty, where every Man will excuſe himſelf from Labour? For as the hope of Gain doth not excite him, ſo the confidence that he has in other Mens Induſtry, may make him ſlothful: And if People come to be pinched with Want, and yet cannot diſpoſe of any thing as their own; what can follow upon this, but perpetual Sedition and Bloodſhed, eſpecially when the Reverence and Authority due to Magiſtrates falls to the Ground? For I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among thoſe that are in all things equal to one another. I do not wonder, ſaid he, that it appears ſo to you, ſince you have no Notion, or at leaſt no right one, of ſuch a Conſtitution: But if you had been in *Utopia* with me, and had ſeen their Laws and Rules as I did, for the ſpace of five Years, in which I lived among them; and during which time I was ſo delighted with them, that indeed I would never have left them, if it had not been to make the diſcovery

of that new World to the *Europeans*; you would then confeſs that you had never ſeen a People ſo well conſtituted as they are. You will not eaſily perſwade me, ſaid *Peter*, that any Nation in that New World, is better governed than thoſe among us are. For as our Underſtandings are not worſe than theirs, ſo our Government, if I miſtake not, being ancienter, a long practice has helped us to find out many Conveniences of Life: And ſome happy Chances have diſcovered other things to us, which no Man's Underſtanding could ever have invented. As for the Antiquity, either of their Government, or of ours, ſaid he, you cannot paſs a true Judgment of it, unleſs you had read their Hiſtories; for if they are to be believed, they had Towns among them, before theſe parts were ſo much as inhabited: And as for theſe Diſcoveries, that have been either hit on by chance, or made by ingenious Men, theſe might have hapned there as well as here. I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in Induſtry and Application: They knew little concerning us, before our arrival among them; they call us all by a general Name

of

of the Nations that lie beyond the Equinoctial Line; for their Chronicle mentions a Shipwrack that was made on their Coaſt 1200 Years ago; and that ſome *Romans* and *Egyptians* that were in the Ship, getting ſafe a Shore, ſpent the reſt of their days amongſt them; and ſuch was their Ingenuity, that from this ſingle Opportunity, they drew the advantage of Learning from thoſe unlook'd for Gueſts, all the uſeful Arts that were then among the *Romans*, which thoſe Shipwrack'd Men knew: And by the Hints that they gave them, they themſelves found out even ſome of thoſe Arts which they could not fully explain to them; ſo happily did they improve that Accident, of having ſome of our People caſt upon their ſhore: But if any ſuch Accident have at any time brought any from thence into *Europe*, we have been ſo far from improving it, that we do not ſo much as remember it; as in after Times perhaps it will be forgot by our People that I was ever there. For tho they from one ſuch Accident, made themſelves Maſters of all the good Inventions that were among us; yet I believe it would be long before we would learn or put in practice any of the good Inſti-

tutions that are among them: And this is the true Cauſe of their being better governed, and living happier than we do, tho we come not ſhort of them in point of Underſtanding, or outward Advantages. Upon this I ſaid to him, I do earneſtly beg of you, that you would deſcribe that Iſland very particularly to us. Be not too ſhort in it, but ſet out in order all things relating to their Soil, their Rivers, their Towns, their People, their Manners, Conſtitution, Laws, and in a word, all that you imagine we deſire to know: and you may well imagine that we deſire to know every thing concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant. I will do it very willingly, ſaid he, for I have digeſted the whole Matter carefully; but it will take up ſome time. Let us go then, ſaid I, firſt and dine, and then we ſhall have leaſure enough. Be it ſo, ſaid he. So we went in and dined, and after Dinner we came back, and ſat down in the ſame place. I ordered my Servants to take care that none might come and interrupt us: and both *Peter* and I deſired *Raphael* to be as good as his word: So when he ſaw that we were very intent upon

on it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this manner.

The Second Book.

THE Island of *Utopia*, in the middle of it, where it is broadest, is 200 miles broad, and holds almost at the same breadth over a great part of it; but it grows narrower towards both ends. Its Figure is not unlike a Crescent: between its Horns, the Sea comes in eleven miles broad, and spreads it self into a great Bay, which is environed with Land to the compass of about 500 miles, and is well secured from Winds: There is no great Current in the Bay, and the whole Coast is, as it were, one continued Harbour, which gives all that live in the Island great convenience for mutual Commerce: but the entry into the Bay, what by Rocks on one hand, and Shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one single Rock which appears above Water, and so is not dangerous; on the top of it there is a Tower built, in which a Garrison is kept. The other Rocks lie under

under Water, and are very dangerous. The Channel is known only to the Natives, ſo that if any Stranger ſhould enter into the Bay, without one of their Pilates, he would run a great danger of Shipwrack: for even they themſelves could not paſs it ſafe, if ſome marks that are on their Coaſt did not direct their way; and if theſe ſhould be but a little ſhifted, any Fleet that might come againſt them, how great ſoever it were, would be certainly loſt. On the other ſide of the Iſland, there are likewiſe many Harbours; and the Coaſt is ſo fortified, both by Nature and Art, that a ſmall number of Men can hinder the deſcent of a great Army. But they report (and there remains good marks of it to make it credible) that this was no Iſland at firſt, but a part of the Continent. *Utopus* that conquered it (whoſe Name it ſtill carries, for *Abraxa* was its firſt Name) and brought the rude and uncivilized Inhabitants into ſuch a good Government, and to that meaſure of Politeneſs, that they do now far excel all the reſt of mankind; having ſoon ſubdued them, he deſigned to ſeparate them from the Continent, and and to bring the Sea quite about them, and in order to that he made a deep Channel

Channel to be digged fifteen miles long: He not only forced the Inhabitants to work at it, but likewiſe his own Souldiers, that the Natives might not think he treated them like Slaves; and having ſet vaſt numbers of Men to work, he brought it to a ſpeedy concluſion beyond all Mens expectations: By this their Neighbours, who laughed at the folly of the Undertaking at firſt, were ſtruck with admiration and terror, when they ſaw it brought to perfection. There are 54 Cities in the Iſland, all large and well built: the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Laws of all their Cities are the ſame, and they are all contrived as near in the ſame manner, as the Ground on which they ſtand will allow: The neareſt lie at leaſt 24 miles diſtant from one another, and the moſt remote are not ſo far diſtant, but that a Man can go on foot in one day from it, to that which lies next it. Every City ſends three of their wiſeſt Senators once a Year to *Amaurot*, for conſulting about their common Concerns; for that is the cheif Town of the Iſland, being ſituated near the Center of it, ſo that it is the moſt convenient place for their Aſſemblies. Every City has ſo much Ground ſet off for its Jurisdiction, that there

there is twenty miles of Soil round it, assigned to it: and where the Towns lie wider, they have much more Ground: no Town desires to enlarge their Bounds, for they consider themselves rather as Tenants than Landlords of their Soil. They have built over all the Country, Farm-houses for Husbandmen, which are well contrived, and are furnished with all things necessary for Countey-labour. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the Cities to dwell in them; no Country-family has fewer than fourty Men and Women in it, besides two Slaves. There is a Master and a Mistress set over every Family; and over thirty Families there is a Magistrate setled. Every Year twenty of this Family come back to the Town, after they have stayed out two Years in the Country: and in their room there are other twenty sent from the Town, that they may learn Country-work, from those that have been already one Year in the Country, which they must teach those that come to them the next Year from the Town. By this means such as dwell in those Country-Farms, are never ignorant of Agriculture, and so commit no Errors in it, which might otherwise be fatal

fatal to them, and bring them under a ſcarcity of Corn. But tho there is every Year ſuch a ſhifting of the Huſbandmen, that none may be forced againſt his mind to follow that hard courſe of life too long; yet many among them take ſuch pleaſure in it, that they deſire leave to continue many Years in it. Theſe Huſbandmen labour the Ground, breed Cattel, hew Wood, and convey it to the Towns, either by Land or Water, as is moſt convenient. They breed an infinite multitude of Chickens in a very curious manner: for the Hens do not ſit and hatch them, but they lay vaſt numbers of Eggs in a gentle and equal heat, in which they are hatched; and they are no ſooner out of the Shell, and able to ſtir about, but they ſeem to conſider thoſe that feed them as their Mothers, and follow them as other Chickens do the Hen that hatched them. They breed very few Horſes, but thoſe they have, are full of Mettle, and are kept only for exerciſing their Youth in the Art of ſitting and riding of them; for they do not put them to any Work, either of Plowing or Carriage, in which they imploy Oxen; for tho Horſes are ſtronger, yet they find Oxen can hold out longer;

and

and as they are not ſubject to ſo many Diſeaſes, ſo they are kept upon a leſs charge, and with leſs trouble: And when they are ſo worn out, that they are no more fit for labour, they are good Meat at laſt. They ſow no Corn, but that which is to be their Bread; for they drink either Wine, Cider, or Perry, and often Water, ſometimes pure, and ſometimes boiled with Hony or Liquoriſh, with which they abound: and tho they know exactly well how much Corn will ſerve every Town, and all that tract of Country which belongs to it, yet they ſow much more, and breed more Cattel than are neceſſary for their conſumption: and they give that overplus of which they make no uſe to their Neighbours. When they want any thing in the Country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the Town, without carrying any thing in exchange for it: and the Magiſtrates of the Town take care to ſee it given them: for they meet generally in the Town once a month, upon a Feſtival-Day. When the time of Harveſt comes, the Magiſtrates in the Country ſend to thoſe in the Towns, and let them know how many hands they will need for reaping

ing the Harveſt; and the number they call for being ſent to them, they commonly diſpatch it all in one day.

Of their Towns, particularly of Amaurot.

HE that knows one of their Towns, knows them all, they are ſo like one another, except where the ſcituation makes ſome difference. I ſhall therefore deſcribe one of them, and it is no matter which; but none is ſo proper as *Amaurot*: for as none is more eminent, all the reſt yielding in precedence to this, becauſe it is the Seat of their Supream Council; ſo there was none of them better known to me, I having lived five Years altogether in it.

It lies upon the ſide of a Hill, or rather a riſing Ground: its Figure is almoſt ſquare, for from the one ſide of it, which ſhoots up almoſt to the top of the Hill, it runs down in a deſcent for two miles to the River *Anider*; but it is a little broader the other way that runs along by the Bank of that River. The *Anider* riſes about 80 miles above *Amaurot*, in a ſmall Spring at firſt; but other Brooks falling into it, of which two are more conſide-

rable:

rable, as it runs by *Amaurot*, it is grown half a mile broad, but it ſtill grows larger and larger, till after ſixty miles courſe below it, it is buried in the Ocean. Between the Town and the Sea, and for ſome miles above the Town, it ebbs and flows every ſix hours, with a ſtrong Current. The Tide comes up for about thirty miles ſo full, that there is nothing but Salt-water in the River, the freſh Water being driven back with its force; and above that, for ſome miles, the Water is brackiſh, but a little higher, as it runs by the Town, it is quite freſh; and when the Tide ebbs, it continues freſh all along to the Sea. There is a Bridg caſt over the River, not of Timber, but of fair Stone, conſiſting of many ſtately Arches; it lies at that part of the Town which is fartheſt from the Sea, ſo that Ships without any hindrance lie all along the ſide of the Town. There is likewiſe another River that runs by it, which tho it is not great, yet it runs pleaſantly, for it riſes out of the ſame Hill on which the Town ſtands, and ſo runs down throw it, and falls into the *Anider*. The Inhabitants have fortified the Fountain-head of this River, which ſprings a little without the

the Towns; that ſo if they ſhould happen to be beſieged, the Enemy might not be able to ſtop or divert the courſe of the Water, nor poiſon it; from thence it is carried in earthen Pipes to the lower Streets: and for thoſe places of the Town to which the Water of that ſmall River cannot be conveyed, they have great Ciſterns for receiving the Rain-water, which ſupplies the want of the other. The Town is compaſſed with a high and thick Wall, in which there are many Towers and Forts; there is alſo a broad and deep dry Ditch, ſet thick with Thorns, caſt round three ſides of the Town, and the River is inſtead of a Ditch on the fourth ſide. The Streets are made very convenient for all Carriage, and are well ſheltred from the Winds. Their Buildings are good, and are ſo uniform, that a whole ſide of a Street looks like one Houſe. The Streets are twenty foot broad; there lie Gardens behind all their Houſes; theſe are large, but encloſed with Buildings, that on all Hands face the Streets; ſo that every Houſe has both a Door to the Street, and a back Door to the Garden: their Doors have all two Leaves, which as they are eaſily opened,

ſo they ſhut of their own accord; and there being no Property among them, every Man may freely enter into any Houſe whatſoever. At every ten Years ends, they ſhift their Houſes by Lots. They cultivate their Gardens with great care, ſo that they have both Vines, Fruits, Herbs, and Flowers in them; and all is ſo well ordered, and ſo finely kept, that I never ſaw Gardens any where that were both ſo fruitful and ſo beautiful as theirs are. And this humor of ordering their Gardens ſo well, is not only kept up by the pleaſure they find in it, but alſo by an emulation between the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Streets, who vie with one another in this Matter; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole Town, that is both more uſeful, and more pleaſant. So that he who founded the Town, ſeems to have taken care of nothing more than of their Gardens; for they ſay, the whole Scheme of the Town was deſigned at firſt by *Utopus*, but he left all that belonged to the Ornament and Improvement of it, to be added by thoſe that ſhould come after him, that being too much for one Man to bring to perfection. Their Records, that contain the

the Hiſtory of their Town and State, are preſerved with an exact care, and run backwards 1760 Years. From theſe it appears, that their Houſes were at firſt low and mean, like Cottages made of any ſort of Timber, and were built with mud Walls, and thatch'd with Straw: but now their Houſes are three Stories high, the Fronts of them are faced either with Stone, Plaiſtering, or Brick; and between the facings of their Walls, they throw in their Rubbiſh; their Roofs are flat, and on them they lay a ſort of Plaiſter which coſts very little, and yet is ſo tempered, that as it is not apt to take Fire, ſo it reſiſts the Weather more than Lead does. They have abundance of Glaſs among them, with which they glaze their Windows: they uſe alſo in their Windows, a thin linnen Cloth, that is ſo oiled or gummed, that by that means it both lets in the Light more freely to them, and keeps out the Wind the better.

Of their Magiſtrates.

THirty Families chuſe every Year a Magiſtrate, who was called anciently the *Syphogrant*, but is now called the *Philarch:* and over every ten *Syphogrants*, with the Families ſubject to them, there is another Magiſtrate, who was anciently called the *Tranibore*, but of late the *Archphilarch.* All the Syphogrants, who are in number 200, chuſe the Prince out of a Liſt of four, whom the People of the four Diviſions of the City name to them; but they take an Oath before they proceed to an Election, that they will chuſe him whom they think meeteſt for the Office: They give their Voices ſecretly, ſo that it is not known for whom every one gives his Suffrage. The Prince is for Life, unleſs he is removed upon ſuſpicion of ſome deſign to enſlave the People. The *Tranibors* are new choſen every Year, but yet they are for the moſt part ſtill continued: All their other Magiſtrates are only Annual. The *Tranibors* meet every third day, and oftner if need be, and conſult with the Prince, either concerning the Affairs of the State in general,

or

or ſuch private Differences as may ariſe ſometimes among the People; tho that falls out but ſeldom. There are always two *Syphogrants* called into the Council-Chamber, and theſe are changed every day. It is a fundamental Rule of their Government, that no Concluſion can be made in any thing that relates to the Publick, till it has been firſt debated three ſeveral days in their Council. It is Death for any to meet and conſult concerning the State, unleſs it be either in their ordinary Council, or in the Aſſembly of the whole Body of the People.

Theſe things have been ſo provided among them, that the Prince and the *Tranibors* may not conſpire together to change the Government, and enſlave the People; and therefore when any thing of great importance is ſet on foot, it is ſent to the *Syphogrants*; who after they have communicated it with the Families that belong to their Diviſions, and have conſidered it among themſelves, make report to the Senate; and upon great Occaſions, the Matter is referred to the Council of the whole Iſland. One Rule obſerved in their Council, is, never to debate a thing on the ſame day in which

is firſt propoſed; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that ſo Men may not raſhly, and in the heat of Diſcourſe, engage themſelves too ſoon, which may biaſs them ſo much, that inſtead of conſidering the Good of the Publick, they will rather ſtudy to maintain their own Notions; and by a perverſe and prepoſterous ſort of ſhame, hazard their Country, rather than endanger their own Reputation, or venture the being ſuſpected to have wanted foreſight in the Expedients that they propoſed at firſt. And therefore to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate, than ſudden in their Motions.

Of their Trades, and manner of Life.

AGriculture is that which is ſo univerſally underſtood among them all, that no Perſon, either Man or Woman, is ignorant of it; from their Childhood they are inſtructed in it, partly by what they learn at School, and partly by practice, they being led out often into the Fields, about the Town, where they not only ſee others at work, but are likewiſe exerciſed in it themſelves. Beſides Agri-

culture,

culture, which is ſo common to them all, every Man has ſome peculiar Trade to which he applies himſelf, ſuch as the Manufacture of Wool, or Flax, Maſonry, Smiths Work, or Carpenters Work; for there is no other ſort of Trade that is in great eſteem among them. All the Iſland over, they wear the ſame ſort of Clothes without any other diſtinction, except that which is neceſſary for marking the difference between the two Sexes, and the married and unmarried. The faſhion never alters; and as it is not ungrateful nor uneaſy, ſo it is fitted for their Climate, and calculated both for their Summers and Winters. Every Family makes their own Clothes; but all among them, Women as well as Men, learn one or other of the Trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the moſt part, deal in Wool and Flax, which ſute better with their feebleneſs, leaving the other ruder Trades to the Men. Generally the ſame Trade paſſes down from Father to Son, Inclination often following Deſcent: but if any Man's Genius lies another way, he is by Adoption tranſlated into a Family that deals in the Trade to which he is inclined: And when that is to be done, care

is taken, not only by his Father, but by the Magiſtrate, that he may be put to a diſcreet and good Man. And if after a Man has learn'd one Trade, he deſires to acquire another, that is alſo allowed, and is managed in the ſame manner as the former. When he has learn'd both, he follows that which he likes beſt, unleſs the Publick has more occaſion for the other.

The chief, and almoſt the only Buſineſs of the *Syphogrants*, is to take care that no Man may live idle, but that every one may follow his Trade diligently: yet they do not wear themſelves out with perpetual Toil, from Morning to Night, as if they were Beaſts of Burden; which as it is indeed a heavy ſlavery, ſo it is the common courſe of Life of all Tradeſmen every where, except among the *Utopians*: But they dividing the Day and Night into twenty four hours, appoint ſix of theſe for Work, three of them are before Dinner; and after that they dine, and interrupt their Labour for two hours, and then they go to work again for other three hours; and after that they ſup, and at eight a Clock, counting from Noon, they go to bed and ſleep eight hours: and for

their

their other hours, beſides thoſe of Work, and thoſe that go for eating and ſleeping, they are left to every Man's diſcretion; yet they are not to abuſe that Interval to Luxury and Idleneſs, but muſt imploy it in ſome proper Exerciſe according to their various Inclinations, which is for the moſt part Reading. It is ordinary to have Publick Lectures every Morning before day-break; to which none are obliged to go, but thoſe that are mark'd out for Literature; yet a great many, both Men and Women of all Ranks, go to hear Lectures of one ſort or another, according to the variety of their Inclinations. But if others, that are not made for Contemplation, chuſe rather to imploy themſelves at that time in their Trade, as many of them do, they are not hindred, but are commended rather, as Men that take care to ſerve their Country. After Supper, they ſpend an hour in ſome Diverſion: In Summer it is in their Gardens, and in Winter it is in the Halls where they eat; and they entertain themſelves in them, either with Muſick or Diſcourſe. They do not ſo much as know Dice, or ſuch-like fooliſh and miſchievous Games: They have two ſorts of Games not unlike our Cheſs;

Chefs; the one is between ſeveral Numbers, by which one number, as it were, conſumes another: the other reſembles a Battel between the Vices and the Vertues, in which the Enmity in the Vices among themſelves, and their agreement againſt Vertue is not unpleaſantly repreſented; together with the ſpecial oppoſitions between the particular Vertues and Vices; as alſo the Methods by which Vice does either openly aſſault, or ſecretly undermine Vertue; and Vertue on the other hand reſiſts it; and the means by which either ſide obtains the Victory. But this matter of the time ſet off for Labour, is to be narrowly examined, otherwiſe you may perhaps imagine, that ſince there are only ſix hours appointed for Work, they may fall under a Scarcity of Neceſſary Proviſions. But it is ſo far from being true, that this time is not ſufficient for ſupplying them with a plenty of all things, that are either neceſſary or convenient; that it is rather too much; and this you will eaſily apprehend, if you conſider how great a part of all other Nations is quite idle. Firſt, Women generally do little, who are the half of Mankind; and if ſome few Women are diligent, their

their Husbands are idle: Then consider the great company of idle Priests, and of those that are called Religious Men; add to these all rich Men, chiefly those that have Estates in Lands, who are called Noble-men and Gentlemen, together with their Families, made up of idle Persons, that do nothing but go swaggering about: Reckon in with these, all those strong and lusty Beggars, that go about pretending some Disease, in excuse for their begging; and upon the whole Account you will find, that the number of those by whose Labours Mankind is supplied, is much less than you did perhaps imagine: Then consider how few of those that work, are imployed in Labours that Men do really need: for we who measure all things by Mony, give occasions to many Trades that are both vain and superfluous, and that serve only to support Riot and Luxury. For if those who are at Work, were imploy'd only in such things as the conveniences of Life require, there would be such an abundance of them, and by that means the prices of them would so sink, that Tradesmen could not be maintained by their Gains; if all those who labour about useless Things, were set to more pro-

profitable Trades; and if all that number that languiſhes out their Life in ſloth and idleneſs, of whom every one conſumes as much as any two of the Men that are at work do, were forced to labour, you may eaſily imagine that a ſmall proportion of time would ſerve for doing all that is either neceſſary, profitable, or pleaſant to Mankind, pleaſure being ſtill kept within its due bounds: Which appears very plainly in *Utopia*, for there, in a great City, and in all the Territory that lies round it, you can ſcarce find five hundred, either Men or Women, that by their Age and Strength, are capable of Labour, that are not engaged in it; even the *Syphogrants* themſelves, tho the Law excuſes them, yet do not excuſe themſelves, that ſo by their Examples they may excite the induſtry of the reſt of the People; the like exemption is allowed to thoſe, who being recommended to the People by the Prieſts, are by the ſecret Suffrages of the *Syphogrants*, priviledged from Labour, that they may apply themſelves wholly to ſtudy; and if any of theſe falls ſhort of thoſe Hopes that he ſeemed to give at firſt, he is obliged to go to work. And ſometimes a Mechanick, that

that does ſo imploy his leaſure hours, that he makes a conſiderable advancement in Learning, is eaſed from being a Tradeſman, and ranked among their Learned Men. Out of theſe they chuſe their Ambaſſadors, their Prieſts, their *Tranibors*, and the Prince himſelf; who was anciently called their *Barzenes*, but is called of late their *Ademus*.

And thus from the great numbers among them, that are neither ſuffered to be idle, nor to be imployed in any fruitleſs Labour; you may eaſily make the eſtimate, how much good Work may be done in thoſe few hours in which they are obliged to labour. But beſides all that has been already ſaid, this is to be conſidered, that thoſe needful Arts which are among them, are managed with leſs labour than any where elſe. The building, or the repairing of Houſes among us, employs many hands, becauſe often a thriftleſs Heir ſuffers a Houſe that his Father built, to fall into decay, ſo that his Succeſſor muſt, at a great coſt, repair that which he might have kept up with a ſmall charge: and often it falls out, that the ſame Houſe which one built at a vaſt expence, is neglected by another, that thinks

thinks he has a more delicate ſenſe of ſuch things; and he ſuffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no leſs charge. But among the *Utopians*, all things are ſo regulated, that Men do very ſeldom build upon any new piece of Ground; and they are not only very quick in repairing their Houſes, but ſhew their foreſight in preventing their decay: So that their Buildings are preſerved very long, with very little labour: And thus the Craftsmen to whom that care belongs, are often without any Imploiment, except it be the hewing of Timber, and the ſquaring of Stones, that ſo the Materials may be in readineſs for raiſing a Building very ſuddenly, when there is any occaſion for it. As for their Clothes, obſerve how little work goes for them: While they are at labour, they are cloathed with Leather and Skins, caſt careleſly about them, which will laſt ſeven Years; and when they appear in publick, they put on an upper Garment, which hides the other: and theſe are all of one colour, and that is the natural colour of the Wool: and as they need leſs Woollen Cloth than is uſed any where elſe, ſo that which they do need, is much leſs coſtly. They uſe Linnen Cloth

Cloth more; but that is prepared with leſs labour, and they value Cloth only by the whiteneſs of the Linnen, or the cleanneſs of the Wool, without much regard to the fineneſs of the Thread; and whereas in other places, four or five upper Garments of Woollen Cloth, and of different Colours, and as many Veſts of Silk will ſcarce ſerve one Man; and thoſe that are nicer, think ten too few; every Man there is contented with one which very oft ſerves him two Years. Nor is there any thing that can tempt a Man to deſire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer, nor would he make one jot the better appearance for it. And thus ſince they are all imploied in ſome uſeful Labour; and ſince they content themſelves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them: So that often, for want of other Work, if there is any need of mending their High Ways at any time, you will ſee marvellous numbers of people brought out to work at them; and when there is no occaſion of any publick work, the hours of working are leſſened by publick Proclamation; for the Magiſtrates do not engage the people into

into any needleſs Labour, ſince by their conſtitution they aim chiefly at this, that except in ſo far as publick neceſſity requires it, all the people may have as much free time for themſelves as may be neceſſary for the improvement of their minds, for in this they think the happineſs of Life conſiſts.

Of their Traffick.

BUT it is now time to explain to you the mutual Intercourſe of this People, their Commerce, and the Rules by which all things are diſtributed among them. As their Cities are compoſed of Families, ſo their Families are made up of thoſe that are nearly related to one another. Their Women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the Males, both Children and Grandchildren, live ſtill in the ſame Houſe, in great obedience to their common Parent, unleſs Age has weakned his Underſtanding; and in that caſe he that is next to him in Age, comes in his room. But leſt any City ſhould become either out of meaſure great, or fall under a diſpeopling by any accident, proviſion is made that none of their Cities

ties may have above ſix thouſand Families in it, beſides thoſe of the Country round it; and that no Family may have leſs than ten, and more than ſixteen Perſons in it; but there can be no determined number for the Children under Age: And this Rule is eaſily obſerved, by removing ſome of the Children of a more fruitful Couple, to any other Family that does not abound ſo much in them. By the ſame Rule, they ſupply Cities that do not encreaſe ſo faſt, by others that breed faſter: And if there is any encreaſe over the whole Iſland, then they draw out a number of their Citizens out of the ſeveral Towns, and ſend them over to the Neighbouring Continent; where, if they find that the Inhabitants have more Soil than they can well cultivate, they fix a Colony, taking in the Inhabitants to their Society, if they will live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly go into their method of Life, and to their Rules, and this proves a happineſs to both the Nations: for according to their conſtitution, ſuch care is taken of the Soil, that it becomes fruitful enough for both, tho it might be otherwiſe too narrow and barren for any one of them.

But if the Natives refuſe to conform themſelves to their Laws, they drive them out of thoſe Bounds which they mark out for themſelves, and uſe force if they reſiſt. For they account it a very juſt cauſe of War, if any Nation will hinder others to come and poſſeſs a part of their Soil, of which they make no uſe, but let it lie idle and uncultivated; ſince every Man has by the Law of Nature a right to ſuch a waſte Portion of the Earth, as is neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence. If any Accident has ſo leſſened the number of the Inhabitants of any of their Towns, that it cannot be made up from the other Towns of the Iſland, without diminiſhing them too much, which is ſaid to have fallen out but twice, ſince they were firſt a People, by two Plagues that were among them; then the number is filled up, by recalling ſo many out of their Colonies: for they will abandon their Colonies, rather than ſuffer any of their Towns to ſink too low.

But to return to the manner of their living together; the Ancienteſt of every Family governs it, as has been ſaid. Wives ſerve their Huſbands, and Children their Parents, and always the Younger ſerves the

the Elder. Every City is divided into four equal Parts, and in the middle of every part there is a Market-place: that which is brought thither manufactured by the ſeveral Families, is carried from thence to Houſes appointed for that purpoſe, in which all things of a ſort are laid by themſelves; and every Father of a Family goes thither, and takes whatſoever he or his Family ſtand in need of, without either paying for it, or laying in any thing in pawn or exchange for it. There is no reaſon for denying any thing to any Perſon, ſince there is ſuch plenty of every thing among them: and there is no danger of any Man's asking more than he needs; for what ſhould make any do that, ſince they are all ſure that they will be always ſupplied? It is the fear of want that makes any of the whole Race of Animals, either greedy or ravenous; but beſides Fear, there is in Man a vaſt Pride, that makes him fancy it a particular Glory for him to excel others in Pomp and Exceſs. But by the Laws of the *Utopians*, there is no room for theſe things among them. Near theſe Markets there are alſo others for all ſorts of Victuals, where there are not only Herbs, Fruits, and

Bread, but alſo Fiſh, Fowl, and Cattel. There are alſo without their Towns, places appointed near ſome running Water, for killing their Beaſts, and for waſhing away their filth; which is done by their Slaves, for they ſuffer none of their Citizens to kill their Cattel, becauſe they think, that Pity and good Nature, which are among the beſt of thoſe Affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of Animals: Nor do they ſuffer any thing that is foul or unclean to be brought within their Towns, leſt the Air ſhould be infected by ill ſmells which might prejudice their Health. In every Street there are great Halls that lie at an equal diſtance from one another, which are marked by particular Names. The *Syphogrants* dwell in theſe, that are ſet over thirty Families, fifteen lying on one ſide of it, and as many on the other. In theſe they do all meet and eat. The Stewards of every one of them come to the Market-place at an appointed hour; and according to the number of thoſe that belong to their Hall, they carry home Proviſions. But they take more care of their Sick, than of any others, who are looked after and lodged in public Hoſpitals:

Hoſpitals: They have belonging to every Town four Hoſpitals, that are built without their Walls, and are ſo large, that they may paſs for little Towns: By this means, if they had ever ſuch a number of ſick Perſons, they could lodg them conveniently, and at ſuch a diſtance, that ſuch of them as are ſick of infectious Diſeaſes, may be kept ſo far from the reſt, that there can be no danger of Contagion. The Hoſpitals are ſo furniſhed and ſtored with all things that are convenient for the eaſe and recovery of their Sick; and thoſe that are put in them, are all looked after with ſo tender and watchful a care, and are ſo conſtantly treated by their skilful Phyſicians; that as none is ſent to them againſt their will, ſo there is ſcarce one in a whole Town, that if he ſhould fall ill, would not chuſe rather to go thither, than lie ſick at home.

After the Steward of the Hoſpitals has taken for them whatſoever the Phyſician does preſcribe at the Market-place, then the beſt things that remain, are diſtributed equally among the Halls, in proportion to their numbers, only, in the firſt place, they ſerve the Prince, the chief Prieſt, the *Tranibors* and Ambaſſadors, and Stran-

gers, (if there are any, which indeed falls out but ſeldom, and for whom there are Houſes well furniſhed, particularly appointed when they come among them). At the hours of Dinner and Supper, the whole Syphogranty being called together by ſound of Trumpet, meets and eats together, except only ſuch as are in the Hoſpitals, or lie ſick at home. Yet after the Halls are ſerved, no Man is hindred to carry Proviſions home from the Market-place; for they know that none does that but for ſome good reaſon; for tho any that will may eat at home, yet none does it willingly, ſince it is both an indecent and fooliſh thing, for any to give themſelves the trouble to make ready an ill Dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him ſo near hand. All the uneaſy and ſordid Services about theſe Halls, are performed by their Slaves; but the dreſſing and cooking their Meat, and the ordering their Tables, belongs only to the Women; which goes round all the Women of every Family by turns. They ſit at three or more Tables, according to their numbers; the Men ſit towards the Wall, and the Women ſit on the other ſide, that if any

of

of them ſhould fall ſuddenly ill, which is ordinary to Women with Child, ſhe may, without diſturbing the reſt, riſe and go to the Nurſes Room, who are there with the ſuckling Children; where there is always Fire, and clean Water at hand, and ſome Cradles in which they may lay the young Children, if there is occaſion for it, and that they may ſhift and dreſs them before the Fire. Every Child is nurſed by its own Mother, if Death or Sickneſs does not intervene; and in that caſe the *Syphogrants* Wives find out a Nurſe quickly, which is no hard matter to do; for any one that can do it, offers her ſelf chearfully: for as they are much inclined to that piece of Mercy, ſo the Child whom they nurſe, conſiders the Nurſe as its Mother. All the Children under five Years old, ſit among the Nurſes, the reſt of the younger ſort of both Sexes, till they are fit for Marriage, do either ſerve thoſe that ſit at Table; or if they are not ſtrong enough for that, they ſtand by them in great ſilence, and eat that which is given them, by thoſe that ſit at Table; nor have they any other formality of dining. In the middle of the firſt Table, which ſtands in the upper end of the Hall, a-

croſs it ſits the *Syphogrant* and his Wife, for that is the chief and moſt conſpicuous place: Next to him ſit two of the moſt ancient, for there go always four to a Meſs. If there is a Temple within that Syphogranty, the Prieſt and his Wife ſit with the *Syphogrant* above all the reſt: Next them there is a mixture of Old and Young, who are ſo placed, that as the Young are ſet near others, ſo they are mixed with the more Ancient, which they ſay was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old People, and the reverence that is due to them, might reſtrain the Younger from all indecent Words and Geſtures. Diſhes are not ſerved up to the whole Table at firſt, but the beſt are firſt ſet before the Ancienter, whoſe Seats are diſtinguiſhed from the Younger, and after them all the reſt are ſerved alike. The old Men diſtribute to the younger any curious Meats that happen to be ſet before them, if there is not ſuch an abundance of them that the whole Company may be ſerved by them.

Thus old Men are honoured with a particular reſpect; yet all the reſt fare as well as they do. They begin both Dinner and Supper with ſome Lecture of Mora-

Morality that is read to them; but it is ſo ſhort, that it is not tedious nor uneaſy to them to hear it: Upon that the old Men take occaſion to entertain thoſe about them, with ſome uſeful and pleaſant Enlargements; but they do not engroſs the whole Diſcourſe ſo to themſelves, during their Meals, that the younger may not put in for a ſhare: On the contrary, they engage them to talk, that ſo they may in that free way of Converſation, find out the force of every one's Spirit, and obſerve their Temper. They diſpatch their Dinners quickly, but ſit long at Supper; becauſe they go to work after the one, and are to ſleep after the other, during which they think the Stomach carries on the Concoction more vigorouſly. They never Sup without Muſick; and there is always Fruit ſerved up after Meat; while they ſit at Meat, ſome burn Perfumes, and ſprinkle about ſweet Ointments, and ſweet Waters: And they are wanting in nothing that may chear up their Spirits, for they give themſelves a large allowance that way, and indulge themſelves in all ſuch Pleaſures as are attended with no Inconvenience. Thus do thoſe that are in the Towns live together; but in the Countrey

trey, where they live at a greater distance, every one eats at home, and no Family wants any necessary sort of Provision, for it is from them that Provisions are sent unto those that live in the Towns.

Of the Travelling of the Utopians.

IF any of them has a mind to visit his Friends that live in some other Town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the Country, he obtains leave very easily from the *Syphogrant* and *Tranibors* to do it, when there is no particular occasion for him at home: such as travel, carry with them a Passport from the Prince, which both certifies the Licence that is granted for travelling, and limits the Time of their return. They are furnished with a Wagon and a Slave, who drives the Oxen, and looks after them: but unless there are Women in the Company, the Wagon is sent back at the end of the Journey as a needless trouble: While they are on the Road, they carry no Provisions with them; yet they want nothing, but are every way treated as if they were at home. If they stay in any place longer then a Night, every one follows his proper Occupation, and

and is very well uſed by thoſe of his own Trade: but if any Man goes out of the City to which he belongs, without leave, and is found going about without a Paſsport, he is roughly handled, and is puniſhed as a Fugitive, and ſent home diſgracefully; and if he falls again into the like Fault, he is condemned to ſlavery. If any Man has a mind to travel only over the Precinct of his own City, he may freely do it, obtaining his Father's Permiſſion, and his Wives Conſent; but when he comes into any of the Countrey-houſes, he muſt labour with them according to their Rules, if he expects to be entertaind by them: and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole Precinct, being thus as uſeful to the City to which he belongs, as if he were ſtill within it. Thus you ſee that there are no idle Perſons among them, nor pretences of excuſing any from Labour. There are no Taverns, no Alehouſes, nor Stews among them; nor any other occaſions of corrupting themſelves, or of getting into Corners, or forming themſelves into Parties: All Men live in full view, ſo that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary Task, and to employ themſelves well in

their

their ſpare hours. And it is certain, that a People thus ordered, muſt live in great abundance of all things; and theſe being equally diſtributed among them, no Man can want any thing, or be put to beg.

In their great Council at *Amaurot*, to which there are three ſent from every Town once every Year, they examine what Towns abound in Proviſions, and what are under any Scarcity, that ſo the one may be furniſhed from the other; and this is done freely, without any ſort of exchange; for according to their Plenty or Scarcity, they ſupply, or are ſupplied from one another; ſo that indeed the whole Iſland is, as it were, one Family. When they have thus taken care of their whole Country, and laid up ſtores for two Years, which they do in caſe that an ill Year ſhould happen to come, then they order an Exportation of the Overplus, both of Corn, Honey, Wool, Flax, Wood, Scarlet, and Purple; Wax, Tallow, Leather, and Cattel, which they ſend out commonly in great quantities to other Countries. They order a ſeventh part of all theſe Goods to be freely given to the Poor of the Countries to which they ſend them, and they ſell the reſt

reſt at moderate Rates. And by this exchange, they not only bring back thoſe few things that they need at home, for indeed they ſcarce need any thing but Iron, but likewiſe a great deal of Gold and Silver; and by their driving this trade ſo long, it is not to be imagined how vaſt a Treaſure they have got among them: ſo that now they do not much care whether they ſell off their Merchandize for Mony in hand, or upon truſt. A great part of their Treaſure is now in Bonds; but in all their Contracts no private Man ſtands bound, but the Writing runs in Name of the Town; and the Towns that owe them Mony, raiſe it from thoſe private hands that owe it to them, and lay it up in their publick Chamber, or enjoy the profit of it till the *Utopians* call for it; and they chuſe rather to let the greateſt part of it lie in their hands, who make advantage by it, then to call for it themſelves: but if they ſee that any of their other Neighbours ſtand more in need of it, then they raiſe it, and lend it to them; or uſe it themſelves, if they are engaged in a War, which is the only occaſion that they can have for all that Treaſure that they have laid up; that ſo either in great Extremities,

mities, or ſudden Accidents, they may ſerve themſelves by it; cheifly for hiring Foreign Souldiers, whom they more willingly expoſe to danger than their own People: They give them great Pay, knowing well that this will work even on their Enemies, and engage them either to betray their own ſide, or at leaſt to deſert it, or will ſet them on to mutual Factions among themſelves: for this end they have an incredible Treaſure; but they do not keep it as a Treaſure, but in ſuch a manner as I am almoſt affraid to tell it, leſt you think it ſo extravagant, that you can hardly believe it; which I have the more reaſon to apprehend from others, becauſe if I had not ſeen it my ſelf, I could not have been eaſily perſwaded to have beleived it upon any Man's Report.

It is certain, that all things appear ſo far incredible to us, as they differ from our own Cuſtoms: but one who can judg aright, will not wonder to find, that ſince their other Conſtitutions differ ſo much from ours, their value of Gold and Silver ſhould be meaſured, not by our Standard, but by one that is very different from it; for ſince they have no uſe

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of Mony among themſelves, but keep it for an accident; that tho, as it may poſſibly fall out, it may have great intervals; they value it no further than it deſerves, or may be uſeful to them. So that it is plain, that they muſt prefer Iron either to Gold or Silver: for Men can no more live without Iron, than without Fire or Water; but Nature has markt out no uſe for the other Metals, with which we may not very well diſpence. The folly of Man has enhanſed the value of Gold and Silver, becauſe of their ſcarcity: whereas on the contrary they reaſon, that Nature, as an indulgent Parent, has given us all the beſt things very freely, and in great abundance, ſuch as are Water and Earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and uſeleſs.

If thoſe Metals were laid up in any Tower among them, it would give jealouſy of the Prince and Senate, according to that fooliſh miſtruſt into which the Rabble is apt to fall, as if they intended to cheat the People, and make advantages to themſelves by it; or if they ſhould work it into Veſſels, or any ſort of Plate, they fear that the People might grow too fond

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of it, and ſo be unwilling to let the Plate be run down, if a War made it neceſſary to pay their Souldiers with it: Therefore to prevent all theſe inconveniences, they have fallen upon an expedient, which as it agrees with their other Policy, ſo is very different from ours, and will ſcarce gain belief among us, who value Gold ſo much, and lay it up ſo carefully: for whereas they eat and drink out of Veſſels of Earth, or Glaſs, that tho they look very prety, yet are of very ſlight Materials; they make their Chamber-pots and Cloſe-ſtools of Gold and Silver; and that not only in their publick Halls, but in their private Houſes: Of the ſame Mettals they likewiſe make Chains and Fetters for their Slaves; and as a Badge of Infamy, they hang an Ear-ring of Gold to ſome, and make others wear a Chain or a Coronet of Gold; and thus they take care, by all manner of ways, that Gold and Silver may be of no eſteem among them; And from hence it is, that whereas other Nations part with their Gold and their Silver, as unwillingly as if one tore out their Bowels, thoſe of *Utopia* would look on their giving in all their Gold or Silver, when there were any uſe for it, but as

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the parting with a Trifle, or as we would eſtimate the loſs of a Penny. They find Pearls on their Coaſt; and Diamonds, and Carbuncles on their Rocks: they do not look after them, but if they find them by chance, they poliſh them, and with them they adorn their Children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their Childhood; but when they grow to Years, and ſee that none but Children uſe ſuch Baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their Parents, lay them aſide; and would be as much aſhamed to uſe them afterwards, as Children among us, when they come to Years, are of their Nuts, Puppets, and other Toies.

I never ſaw a clearer Inſtance of the different impreſſions that different Cuſtoms make on People, than I obſerved in the Ambaſſadors of the *Anemolians* who came to *Amaurot* when I was there: and becauſe they came to treat of Affairs of great Conſequence, the Deputies from the ſeveral Towns had met to wait for their coming. The Ambaſſadours of the Nations that lie near *Utopia*, knowing their Cuſtoms, and that fine Cloaths are in no eſteem among them; that Silk is deſpiſed,

and Gold is a Badg of Infamy, uſe to come very modeſtly cloathed; but the *Anemolians* that lay more remote, and ſo hād little commerce with them, when they underſtood that they were courſly cloathed, and all in the ſame manner, they took it for granted that they had none of thoſe fine Things among them of which they made no uſe; and they being a vain-glorious, rather than a wiſe People, reſolved to ſet themſelves out with ſo much pomp, that they ſhould look like Gods, and ſo ſtrike the Eyes of the poor *Utopians* with their ſplendor. Thus three Ambaſſadors made their entry with an hundred Attendants, that were all clad in Garments of different colours, and the greater part in Silk; the Ambaſſadors themſelves, who were of the Nobility of their Country, were in Cloth of Gold, and adorned with maſſy Chains, Ear-rings and Rings of Gold: Their Caps were covered with Bracelets ſet full of Pearls and other Gems: In a word, they were ſet out with all thoſe things, that among the *Utopians* were either the Badges of Slavery, the Marks of Infamy, or Childrens Rattels. It was not unpleaſant to ſee on the one ſide how they lookt big, when they compared their rich

rich Habits with the plain Cloaths of the *Utopians*, who were come out in great numbers to ſee them make their Entry: And on the other ſide, to obſerve how much they were miſtaken in the Impreſſion which they hoped this Pomp would have made on them: It appeared ſo ridiculous a ſhew to all that had never ſtirred out of their Country, and ſo had not ſeen the Cuſtoms of other Nations; that tho they paid ſome reverence to thoſe that were the moſt meanly clad, as if they had been the Ambaſſadors, yet when they ſaw the Ambaſſadors themſelves, ſo full of Gold Chains, they looking upon them as Slaves, made them no reverence at all. You might have ſeen their Children, who were grown up to that bigneſs, that they had thrown away their Jewels, call to their Mothers, and puſh them gently, and cry out, See that great Fool that wears Pearls and Gems, as if he were yet a Child. And their Mothers anſwered them in good earneſt, Hold your Peace, this is, I believe, one of the Ambaſſador's Fools. Others cenſured the faſhion of their Chains, and obſerved that they were of no uſe, for they were too ſlight to bind their Slaves, who could eaſily break them;

and they ſaw them hang ſo looſe about them, that they reckoned they could eaſily throw them away, and ſo get from them. But after the Ambaſſadors had ſtaid a day among them, and ſaw ſo vaſt a quantity of Gold in their Houſes, which was as much deſpiſed by them, as it was eſteemed in other Nations, and that there was more Gold and Silver in the Chains and Fetters of one Slave, than all their Ornaments amounted to, their Plumes fell, and they were aſhamed of all that Glory for which they had formerly valued themſelves, and ſo laid it aſide: to which they were the more determined, when upon their engaging into ſome free Diſcourſe with the *Utopians*, they diſcovered their ſenſe of ſuch things, and their other Cuſtoms. The *Utopians* wonder how any Man ſhould be ſo much taken with the glaring doubtful luſtre of a Jewel or Stone, that can look up to a Star, or to the Sun himſelf; or how any ſhould value himſelf, becauſe his Cloth is made of a finer Thread: for how fine ſoever that Thread may be, it was once no better than the Fleece of a Sheep, and that Sheep was a Sheep ſtill for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear, that Gold which

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it ſelf is ſo uſeleſs a thing, ſhould be every where ſo much eſteemed, that even Men for whom it was made, and by whom it has its value, ſhould yet be thought of leſs value than it is: So that a Man of Lead, who has no more ſence than a Log of Wood, and is as bad as he is fooliſh, ſhould have many wiſe and good Men ſerving him, only becauſe he has a great heap of that Metal; and if it ſhould ſo happen, that by ſome Accident, or Trick of Law, (which does ſometimes produce as great Changes as Chance it ſelf) all this Wealth ſhould paſs from the Maſter to the meaneſt Varlet of his whole Family, he himſelf would very ſoon become one of his Servants, as if he were a thing that belonged to his Wealth, and ſo were bound to follow its Fortune. But they do much more admire and deteſt their folly, who when they ſee a rich Man, tho they neither owe him any thing, nor are in any ſort obnoxious to him, yet meerly becauſe he is rich, they give him little leſs than Divine Honours; even tho they know him to be ſo covetous and baſe minded, that notwithſtanding all his Wealth, he will not part with one Farthing of it to them as long as he lives.

These and such like Notions has that People drunk in, partly from their Education, being bred in a Country, whose Customs and Constitutions are very opposite to all such foolish Maxims: and partly from their Learning and Studies; for tho there are but few in any Town that are excused from Labour, so that they may give themselves wholly to their Studies, these being only such Persons as discover from their Childhood an extraordinary capacity and disposition for Letters, yet their Children, and a great part of the Nation, both Men and Women, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work, in Reading: and this they do their whole Life long. They have all their Learning in their own Tongue; which is both a copious and pleasant Language, and in which a Man can fully express his Mind: It runs over a great Tract of many Countries, but it is not equally pure in all places: They had never so much as heard of the Names of any of those Philosophers that are so famous in these parts of the World, before we went among them: and yet they had made the same Discoveries that the *Greeks* had done, both in Musick, Logick,

gick, Arithmetick, and Geometry. But as they are equal to the Ancient Philoſophers almoſt in all things, ſo they far exceed our Modern Logicians, for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous Nicities that our Youth are forced to learn in thoſe trifling Logical Schools that are among us; and they are ſo far from minding Chimera's, and Fantaſtical Images made in the Mind, that none of them could comprehend what we meant, when we talked to them of a Man in the Abſtract, as common to all Men in particular, (ſo that tho we ſpoke of him as a thing that we could point at with our Fingers, yet none of them could perceive him) and yet diſtinct from every one, as if he were ſome monſtrous Coloſſus or Giant. Yet for all this ignorance of theſe empty Notions, they knew Aſtronomy, and all the Motions of the Orbs exactly; and they have many Inſtruments, well contrived and divided, by which they do very accurately compute the Courſe and Poſitions of the Sun, Moon, and Stars. But for the Cheat, of divining by the Stars, and by their Oppoſitions or Conjunctions, it has not ſo much as entred into their Thoughts. They

have a particular ſagacity, founded on much Obſervation, of judging of the Weather, by which they know when they may look for Rain, Wind, or other Alterations in the Air: But as to the Philoſophy of thoſe things, and the cauſes of the ſaltneſs of the Sea, and of its Ebbing and Flowing, and of the Original and Nature both of the Heavens and the Earth; they diſpute of them, partly, as our Ancient Philoſophers have done; and, partly, upon ſome new Hypotheſis, in which, as they differ from them, ſo they do not in all things agree among themſelves.

As for moral Philoſophy, they have the ſame Diſputes among them, that we have here: They examine what things are properly good, both for the Body, and the Mind: And whether any outward thing can be called truly *good*, or if that term belongs only to the Endowments of the Mind. They enquire likewiſe into the Nature of Vertue and Pleaſure; but their chief diſpute is, concerning the happineſs of a Man, and wherein it conſiſts? whether in ſome one thing, or in a great many? They ſeem indeed more inclineable to that Opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief part of a Man's Happi-

Happineſs, in Pleaſure; and which may ſeem more ſtrange, they make uſe of Arguments even from Religion, notwithſtanding its ſeverity and roughneſs, for the ſupport of that Opinion, that is ſo indulgent to Pleaſure: for they never diſpute concerning happineſs, without fetching ſome Arguments from the Principles of Religion, as well as from natural Reaſon; ſince without the former, they reckon that all our enquiries after Happineſs, muſt be but conjectural and defective.

Thoſe Principles of their Religion, are, that the Soul of Man is immortal, and that God of his Goodneſs has deſigned that it ſhould be happy; and that he has therefore appointed Rewards for good and vertuous Actions, and puniſhments for Vice, to be diſtributed after this Life: And tho theſe Principles of Religion are conveyed down among them by Tradition, they think, that even Reaſon it ſelf determines a Man to believe and acknowledg them: and they freely confeſs, that if theſe were taken away, no Man would be ſo inſenſible, as not to ſeek after Pleaſure by all manner of ways, lawful or unlawful; uſing only this

this caution, that a leſſer Pleaſure might not ſtand in the way of a greater, and that no pleaſure ought to be purſued, that ſhould draw a great deal of pain after it: for they think it the maddeſt thing in the World to purſue Vertue, that is a ſour and difficult thing; and not only to renounce the pleaſures of Life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble, if a Man has no proſpect of a Reward. And what Reward can there be, for one that has paſſed his whole Life, not only without pleaſure, but in pain, if there is nothing to be expected after death? Yet they do not place Happineſs in all ſorts of Pleaſures, but only in thoſe that in themſelves are good and honeſt: for whereas there is a Party among them that places Happineſs in bare Vertue, others think that our Natures are conducted by Vertue to Happineſs, as that which is the chief Good of Man. They define Vertue thus, that it is a living according to Nature; and think that we are made by God for that end: They do believe that a Man does then follow the Dictates of Nature, when he purſues or avoids things according to the direction of Reaſon: they ſay, that the firſt dictate of Reaſon is, the kindling in

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us a love and reverence for the Divine Majeſty, to whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for. In the next place, Reaſon directs us, to keep our Minds as free of Paſſion, and as chearful as we can; and that we ſhould conſider our ſelves as bound by the ties of good Nature and Humanity, to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to help forward the Happineſs of all other Perſons; for there was never any Man that was ſuch a moroſe and ſevere purſuer of Vertue, and ſuch an Enemy to Pleaſure, that tho he ſet hard Rules to Men to undergo, much pain, many watchings, and other rigors, yet did not at the ſame time adviſe them to do all they could in order to the relieving and eaſing ſuch People as were miſerable; and did not repreſent it as a mark of a laudable temper, that it was gentle and good natured: And they infer from thence, that if a Man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the reſt of Mankind, there being no Vertue more proper and peculiar to our Nature, than to eaſe the miſeries of others, to free them from trouble & anxiety, in furniſhing them with the Comforts of Life, that conſiſt in Pleaſure; Nature does much more vigo-

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rouſly lead him to do all this for himſelf. A Life of Pleaſure, is either a real Evil; and in that caſe we ought not only, not to aſſiſt others in their purſuit of it, but on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is hurtful and deadly to them; or if it is a good thing, ſo that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, Why then ought not a Man to begin with himſelf? ſince no Man can be more bound to look after the good of another, than after his own: for Nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the ſame time to be unmerciful and cruel to our ſelves. Thus as they define Vertue to be a living according to Nature, ſo they reckon that Nature ſets all People on to ſeek after Pleaſure, as the end of all they do. They do alſo obſerve, that in order to the ſupporting the Pleaſures of Life, Nature inclines us to enter into Society; for there is no Man ſo much raiſed above the reſt of mankind, that he ſhould be the only Favorite of Nature, which on the contrary ſeems to have levelled all thoſe together that belong to the ſame Species. Upon this they infer, that no Man ought to ſeek his own Conveniences ſo eagerly, that thereby he ſhould

ſhould prejudice others; and therefore they think, that not only all Agreements between private Perſons ought to be obſerved; but likewiſe, that all thoſe Laws ought to be kept, which either a good Prince has publiſhed in due form, or to which a People, that is neither oppreſſed with Tyranny, nor circumvented by Fraud, has conſented, for diſtributing thoſe Conveniences of Life which afford us all our Pleaſures.

They think it is an evidence of true Wiſdom, for a Man to purſue his own Advantages, as far as the Laws allow it. They account it *Piety*, to prefer the Publick Good to one's Private Concerns; but they think it unjuſt, for a Man to ſeek for his own Pleaſure, by ſnatching another Man's Pleaſures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a ſign of a gentle and good Soul, for a Man to diſpence with his own Advantage for the good of others; and that by ſo doing, a good Man finds as much pleaſure one way, as he parts with another; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, ſo if that ſhould fail him, yet the Senſe of a good Action, and the Reflections that one makes on the Love

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and Gratitude of thoſe whom he has ſo obliged, gives the Mind more Pleaſure, than the Body could have found in that from which it had reſtrained it ſelf: they are alſo perſwaded that God will make up the loſs of thoſe ſmall Pleaſures, with a vaſt and endleſs Joy, of which Religion does eaſily convince a good Soul.

Thus upon an enquiry into the whole Matter, they reckon that all our Actions, and even all our Vertues terminate in Pleaſure, as in our chief End and greateſt Happineſs; and they call every Motion or State, either of Body or Mind, in which Nature teaches us to delight, a Pleaſure. And thus they cautiouſly limit Pleaſure, only to thoſe Appetites to which Nature leads us; for they reckon that Nature leads us only to thoſe Delights to which Reaſon as well as Senſe carries us, and by which we neither injure any other Perſon, nor let go greater Pleaſures for it; and which do not draw troubles on us after them: but they look upon thoſe Delights which Men, by a fooliſh tho common Miſtake, call *Pleaſure*, as if they could change the Nature of Things, as well as the uſe of Words, as things that not only do not advance our Happineſs, but

but do rather obſtruct it very much, becauſe they do ſo entirely poſſeſs the Minds of thoſe that once go into them, with a falſe Notion of Pleaſure, that there is no room left for truer and purer Pleaſures.

There are many things that in themſelves have nothing that is truly delighting: On the contrary, they have a good deal of bitterneſs in them; and yet by our perverſe Appetites after forbidden Objects, are not only ranked among the Pleaſures, but are made even the greateſt Deſigns of Life. Among thoſe who purſue theſe ſophiſticated Pleaſures, they reckon thoſe whom I mentioned before, who think themſelves really the better for having fine Clothes; in which they think they are doubly miſtaken, both in the Opinion that they have of their Clothes, and in the Opinion that they have of themſelves; for if you conſider the uſe of Clothes, why ſhould a fine Thread be thought better than a courſe one? And yet that ſort of Men, as if they had ſome real Advantages beyond others, and did not owe it wholly to their Miſtakes, look big, and ſeem to fancy themſelves to be the more valuable

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on that account, and imagine that a reſpect is due to them for the ſake of a rich Garment, to which they would not have pretended, if they had been more meanly cloathed; and they reſent it as an Affront, if that reſpect is not paid them. It is alſo a great folly to be taken with theſe outward Marks of Reſpect, which ſignify nothing: For what true or real Pleaſure can one find in this, that another Man ſtands bare, or makes Legs to him? Will the bending another Man's Thighs give yours an eaſe? And will his Head's being bare, cure the madneſs of yours? And yet it is wonderful to ſee how this falſe Notion of Pleaſure bewitches many, who delight themſelves with the fancy of their Nobility, and are pleaſed with this Conceit, that they are deſcended from Anceſtors, who have been held for ſome Succeſſions rich, and that they have had great Poſſeſſions; for this is all that makes Nobility at preſent; yet they do not think themſelves a whit the leſs noble, tho their immediate Parents have left none of this Wealth to them; or tho they themſelves have ſquandred it all away. The *Utopians* have no better Opinion of thoſe, who are much taken with

with Gems and Precious Stones, and who account it a degree of Happineſs, next to a Divine one, if they can purchaſe one that is very extraordinary; eſpecially if it be of that ſort of Stones, that is then in greateſt requeſt; for the ſame ſort is not at all times of the ſame value with all ſorts of People; nor will Men buy it, unleſs it be diſmounted and taken out of the Gold: And then the Jeweller is made to give good Security, and required ſolemnly to ſwear that the Stone is true, that by ſuch an exact Caution, a falſe one may not be bought inſtead of a true: Whereas if you were to examine it, your Eye could find no difference between that which is counterfeit, and that which is true; ſo that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind: And can it be thought that they who heap up an uſeleſs Maſs of Wealth, not for any uſe that it is to bring them, but meerly to pleaſe themſelves with the contemplation of it, enjoy any true Pleaſure in it? The Delight they find, is only a falſe ſhadow of Joy: thoſe are no better, whoſe Error is ſomewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of loſing it; for what other Name can fit the hiding it in the

Earth, or rather the reſtoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being uſeful, either to its Owner, or to the reſt of Mankind? and yet the Owner having hid it carefully, is glad, becauſe he thinks he is now ſure of it. And in caſe one ſhould come to ſteal it, the Owner, tho he might live perhaps ten Years after that, would all that while after the Theft, of which he knew nothing, find no difference between his having it, or loſing it, for both ways it was equally uſeleſs to him.

Among thoſe fooliſh purſuers of Pleaſure, they reckon all thoſe that delight in Hunting, or Birding, or Gaming: Of whoſe madneſs they have only heard, for they have no ſuch things among them: but they have asked us; What ſort of Pleaſure is it that Men can find in throwing the Dice? for if there were any pleaſure in it, they think the doing it ſo often ſhould give one a Surfeit of it: And what pleaſure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of Dogs, which ſeem rather odious than pleaſant ſounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleaſure of ſeeing Dogs run after a Hare, more than of ſeeing one Dog run after another; for you have the ſame entertainment to the Eye

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on both these Occasions; if the seeing them run is that which gives the pleasure, since that is the same in both cases: but if the Pleasure lies in seeing the Hare killed and torn by the Dogs, this ought rather to stir pity, when a weak, harmless, and fearful Hare, is devoured by a strong, fierce, and cruel Dog. Therefore all this business of hunting, is among the *Utopians* turned over to their Butchers; and those are all Slaves, as was formerly said: and they look on Hunting, as one of the basest parts of a Butcher's work: for they account it both more profitable, and more decent to kill those Beasts that are more necessary and useful to Mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an Animal, which a Huntsman proposes to himself, can only attract him with the false shew of Pleasure; for it is of little use to him: they look on the desire of the Bloodshed, even of Beasts, as a mark of a Mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at least by the frequent returns of so brutal a pleasure, must degenerate into it.

Thus tho the Rabble of Mankind looks upon these, and all other things of this kind, which are indeed innumerable,

as Pleaſures; the *Utopians* on the contrary obſerving, that there is nothing in the nature of them that is truly pleaſant, conclude that they are not to be reckoned among Pleaſures: for tho theſe things may create ſome tickling in the Senſes, (which ſeems to be a true Notion of Pleaſure) yet they reckon that this does not ariſe from the thing it ſelf, but from a depraved Cuſtom, which may ſo vitiate a Man's taſte, that bitter things may paſs for ſweet; as Women with Child think Pitch or Tallow taſte ſweeter than Hony; but as a Man's Senſe when corrupted, either by a Diſeaſe, or ſome ill Habit, does not change the nature of other things, ſo neither can it change the nature of Pleaſure.

They reckon up ſeveral ſorts of theſe Pleaſures, which they call true Ones: Some belong to the Body, and others to the Mind. The Pleaſures of the Mind lie in Knowledg, and in that delight which the contemplation of Truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful Reflections on a well-ſpent Life, and the aſſured hopes of a future Happineſs. They divide the Pleaſures of the Body into two ſorts; the one is that which gives our Senſes

Senſes ſome real delight, and is performed, either by the recruiting of Nature, and ſupplying thoſe parts on which the internal heat of Life feeds; and that is done by eating or drinking: Or when Nature is eaſed of any ſurcharge that oppreſſes it, as when we empty our Guts, beget Children, or free any of the parts of our Body from Aches or Heats by friction. There is another kind of this ſort of Pleaſure, that neither gives us any thing that our Bodies require, nor frees us from any thing with which we are overcharged; and yet it excites our Senſes by a ſecret unſeen Vertue, and by a generous Impreſſion, it ſo tickles and affects them, that it turns them inwardly upon themſelves; and this is the Pleaſure begot by Muſick. Another ſort of bodily Pleaſure is, that which conſiſts in a quiet and good conſtitution of Body, by which there is an entire healthineſs ſpread over all the parts of the Body, not allayed with any Diſeaſe. This, when it is free from all mixture of pain, gives an inward pleaſure of it ſelf, even tho it ſhould not be excited by any external and delighting Object; and altho this Pleaſure does not ſo vigorouſly affect the Senſe, nor act ſo

ſtrongly upon it; yet as it is the greateſt of all Pleaſures, ſo almoſt all the *Utopians* reckon it the Foundation and Baſis of all the other Joys of Life; ſince this alone makes one's ſtate of Life to be eaſy and deſirable; and when this is wanting, a Man is really capable of no other Pleaſure. They look upon indolence and freedom from Pain, if it does not riſe from a perfect Health, to be a ſtate of Stupidity rather than of Pleaſure. There has been a Controverſy in this Matter very narrowly canvaſſed among them; Whether a firm and entire Health could be called a Pleaſure, or not? Some have thought that there was no Pleaſure, but that which was excited by ſome ſenſible Motion in the Body. But this Opinion has been long ago run down among them, ſo that now they do almoſt all agree in this, That Health is the greateſt of all bodily Pleaſures; and that as there is a Pain in Sickneſs, which is as oppoſite in its nature to Pleaſure, as Sickneſs it ſelf is to Health, ſo they hold that Health carries a Pleaſure along with it: And if any ſhould ſay, that Sickneſs is not really a Pain, but that it only carries a Pain along with it, they look upon that as a fetch of ſubtilty, that does

does not much alter the Matter. So they think it is all one, whether it be ſaid, that Health is in it ſelf a Pleaſure, or that it begets a Pleaſure, as Fire gives Heat; ſo it be granted, that all thoſe whoſe Health is entire, have a true pleaſure in it: And they reaſon thus, What is the Pleaſure of eating, but that a Man's Health which had been weakned, does, with the aſſiſtance of Food, drive away Hunger, and ſo recruiting it ſelf, recovers its former Vigour? And being thus refreſh'd, it finds a pleaſure in that Conflict: and if the Conflict is Pleaſure, the Victory muſt yet breed a greater Pleaſure, except we will fancy that it becomes ſtupid as ſoon as it has obtained that which it purſued, and ſo does neither know nor rejoice in its own welfare. If it is ſaid, that Health cannot be felt, they abſolutely deny that, for what Man is in Health, that does not perceive it when he is awake? Is there any Man that is ſo dull and ſtupid, as not to acknowledg that he feels a delight in Health? And what is Delight, but another name for Pleaſure?

But of all Pleaſures, they eſteem thoſe to be the moſt valuable that lie in the Mind; and the chief of theſe, are thoſe

that ariſe out of true Vertue, and the witneſs of a good Conſcience: They account Health the chief Pleaſure that belongs to the Body; for they think that the pleaſure of eating and drinking, and all the other delights of the Body, are only ſo far deſirable, as they give or maintain Health: but they are not pleaſant in themſelves, otherwiſe than as they reſiſt thoſe impreſſions that our natural Infirmity is ſtill making upon us: And as a wiſe Man deſires rather to avoid Diſeaſes, than to take Phyſick; and to be freed from pain, rather than to find eaſe by Remedies: ſo it were a more deſirable ſtate, not to need this ſort of Pleaſure, than to be obliged to indulge it: And if any Man imagines that there is a real Happineſs in this Pleaſure, he muſt then confeſs that he would be the happieſt of all Men, if he were to lead his life in a perpetual hunger, thirſt, and itching, and by conſequence in perpetual eating, drinking, and ſcratching himſelf, which any one may eaſily ſee would be not only a baſe, but a miſerable ſtate of Life. Theſe are indeed the loweſt of Pleaſures, and the leaſt pure: for we can never reliſh them, but when they are mixed with the contrary pains. The

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pain of Hunger, muſt give us the pleaſure of Eating; and here the Pain outballances the Pleaſure: and as the Pain is more vehement, ſo it laſts much longer; for as it is upon us before the Pleaſure comes, ſo it does not ceaſe, but with the Pleaſure that extinguiſhes it, and that goes off with it: So that they think none of thoſe Pleaſures are to be valued, but as they are neceſſary. Yet they rejoice in them, and with due gratitude acknowledg the tenderneſs of the great Author of Nature, who has planted in us Appetites, by which thoſe things that are neceſſary for our preſervation, are likewiſe made pleaſant to us. For how miſerable a thing would Life be, if thoſe daily Diſeaſes of Hunger and Thirſt, were to be carried off by ſuch bitter Drugs, as we muſt uſe for thoſe Diſeaſes that return ſeldomer upon us? and thus theſe pleaſant, as well as proper Gifts of Nature, do maintain the ſtrength and the ſprightlineſs of our Bodies.

They do alſo entertain themſelves with the other Delights that they let in at their Eyes, their Ears, and their Noſtrils, as the pleaſant reliſhes and ſeaſonings of Life, which Nature ſeems to have marked out

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peculiarly for Man: ſince no other ſort of Animals contemplates the Figure and Beauty of the Univerſe; nor is delighted with ſmells, but as they diſtinguiſh Meats by them; nor do they apprehend the Concords or Diſcords of Sounds; yet in all Pleaſures whatſoever, they obſerve this temper, that a leſſer Joy may not hinder a greater, and that Pleaſure may never breed Pain, which they think does always follow diſhoneſt Pleaſures. But they think it a madneſs for a Man to wear out the Beauty of his Face, or the force of his natural Strength, and to corrupt the ſprightlineſs of his Body by ſloth and lazineſs, or to waſt his Body by faſting, and ſo to weaken the ſtrength of his Conſtitution, and reject the other delights of Life; unleſs by renouncing his own ſatisfaction, he can either ſerve the Publick, or promote the happineſs of others, for which he expects a greater Recompence from God. So that they look on ſuch a courſe of Life, as a mark of a Mind, that is both cruel to it ſelf, and ingrateful to the Author of Nature, as if we would not be beholden to him for his Favors, and therefore would reject all his Bleſſings and

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ſhould afflict himſelf for the empty ſhadow of Vertue; or for no better end, than to render himſelf capable to bear thoſe Misfortunes which poſſibly will never happen.

This is their Notion of Vertue and of Pleaſure; they think that no Man's Reaſon can carry him to a truer *Idea* of them, unleſs ſome diſcovery from Heaven ſhould inſpire one with ſublimer Notions. I have not now the leaſure to examine all this, whither they think right or wrong in this Matter: nor do I judg it neceſſary, for I have only undertaken to give you an account of their Conſtitution, but not to defend every thing that is among them. I am ſure, that whatſoever may be ſaid of their Notions, there is not in the whole World, either a better People, or a happier Government: Their Bodies are vigorous and lively; and tho they are but of a middle ſtature, and tho they have neither the fruitfulleſt Soil, nor the pureſt Air in the World: yet they do ſo fortify themſelves by their temperate courſe of Life, againſt the unhealthineſs of their Air; and by their induſtry they do ſo cultivate their Soil, that there is no where

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to be ſeen a greater encreaſe, both of Corn and Cattel, nor are there any where healthier Men to be found, and freer from Diſeaſes than among them: for one may ſee there, not only ſuch things put in practice, that Huſbandmen do commonly for manuring and improving an ill Soil, but in ſome places a whole Wood is plucked up by the Roots, as well as whole ones planted in other places, where there were formerly none: In doing of this the cheif conſideration they have is of carriage, that their Timber may be either near their Towns, or lie upon the Sea, or ſome Rivers, ſo that it may be floated to them; for it is a harder work to carry Wood at any diſtance over Land, then Corn. The Peole are induſtrious, apt to learn, as well as chearful and pleaſant; and none can endure more labour, when it is neceſſary, than they; but except in that caſe they love their eaſe. They are unwearied purſuers of knowledg; for when we had given them ſome hints of the Learning and Diſcipline of the *Greeks*, concerning whom we only inſtructed them, (for we know that there was nothing among the *Romans*, except their Hiſtorians

Hiſtorians and their Poets, that they would value much) it was ſtrange to ſee how eagerly they were ſet on learning that Language: We began to read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity, than out of any hopes of their profiting much by it: But after a very ſhort trial, we found they made ſuch a progreſs in it, that we ſaw our labour was like to be more ſucceſsful than we could have expected. They learned to write their Characters, and to pronounce their Language ſo right, and took up all ſo quick, they remembered it ſo faithfully, and became ſo ready and correct in the uſe of it, that it would have look'd like a Miracle, if the greater part of thoſe whom we taught had not been Men, both of extraordinay Capacity, and of a fit Age for it: They were for the greateſt part choſen out among their learned Men, by their cheif Council, tho ſome learn'd it of their own accord. In three Years time they became Maſters of the whole Language, ſo that they read the beſt of the *Greek* Authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think, that they learned that Language the more eaſily, becauſe it

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ſeems to be of kin to their own: I believe that they were a Colony of the *Greeks*; for tho their Language comes nearer the *Perſian*, yet they retain many Names, both for their Towns and Magiſtrates, that are of Greek Origination. I had happened to carry a great many Books with me, inſtead of Merchandiſe, when I ſailed my fourth Voyage; for I was ſo far from thinking of coming back ſoon, that I rather thought never to have returned at all, and I gave them all my Books, among which many of *Plato*'s and ſome of *Ariſtotle*'s works were. I had alſo *Theophraſtus* of the Plants, which to my great regret, was imperfect; for having laid it careleſsly by, while we were at Sea, a Monkey had fallen upon it and had torn out leaves in many places. They have no Books of Grammar, but *Laſcares*, for I did not carry *Theodorus* with me; nor have they any Dictionaries but *Heſichius* and *Dioſcorides*. They eſteem *Plutarch* highly, and were much taken with *Lucian*'s Wit, and with his pleaſant way of writing. As for the Poets, they have *Ariſtophanes*, *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles* of *Aldus*'s Edition; and for Hiſtorians, they have *Thucidydes*, *Herodotus*

Herodotus and *Herodian*. One of my Companions, *Thricius Apinatus*, happened to carry with him ſome of *Hippocrates*'s Works, and *Galen's Microtechne*, which they hold in great eſtimation; for tho there is no Nation in the World, that needs Phyſick ſo little as they do, yet there is not any that honours it ſo much: They reckon the knowledg of it to be one of the pleaſanteſt and profitableſt parts of Philoſophy, by which, as they ſearch into the Secrets of Nature, ſo they not only find marvellous pleaſure in it, but think that in making ſuch enquiries, they do a moſt acceptable thing to the Author of Nature; and imagine that he, as all Inventers of curious Engines, has expoſed to our view this great Machine of the Univerſe, we being the only Creatures capable of contemplating it: and that therefore an exact and curious Obſerver and Admirer of his Workmanſhip, is much more acceptable to him, than one of the Herd; who as if he were a Beaſt, and not capable of Reaſon, looks on all this glorious Scene, only as a dull and unconcerned Spectator.

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The Minds of the *Utopians*, when they are once excited by Learning, are very ingenious in finding out all ſuch Arts as tend to the conveniences of Life. Two things they owe to us, which are the Art of Printing, and the Manufacture of Paper: yet they do not owe theſe ſo entirely to us, but that a great part of the invention was their own; for after we had ſhewed them ſome Paper-books of *Aldus*'s Impreſſion, and began to explain to them the way of making Paper, and of printing, tho we ſpake but very crudely of both theſe, not being practiſed in either of them, they preſently took up the whole matter from the hints that we gave them: and whereas before they only writ on Parchment, or on the Barks of Trees, or Reeds; they have now ſet up the Manufacture of Paper, and Printing-preſſes: and tho at firſt they could not arrive at a perfection in them, yet by making many eſſays, they at laſt found out, and corrected all their Errors, and brought the whole thing to perfection; ſo that if they had but a good number of Greek Authors, they would be quickly ſupplied with many Copies of them: at preſent

preſent; tho they have no more than thoſe I have mentioned, yet by ſeveral Impreſſions, they have multiplied them into many thouſands. If any Man ſhould go among them, that had ſome extraordinary Talent, or that by much travelling had obſerved the Cuſtoms of many Nations, (which made us to be ſo well received) he would be very welcome to them; for they are very deſirous to know the ſtate of the whole World. Very few go among them on the account of Traffick, for what can a Man carry to them but Iron, or Gold, or Silver, which Merchants deſire rather to export, than import to any ſtrange Country: and as for their Exportation, they think it better to manage that themſelves, than to let Forraigners come and deal in it, for by this means, as they underſtand the ſtate of the neighbouring Countries better, ſo they keep up the Art of Navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practiſe in it.

Of their Slaves, and of their Marriages.

THEY do not make Slaves of Priſoners of War, except thoſe that are taken fighting againſt them; nor of the Sons of their Slaves, nor of the Slaves of other Nations: the Slaves among them, are only ſuch as are condemned to that ſtate of Life for ſome Crime that they had committed, or which is more common, ſuch as their Merchants find condemned to die in thoſe parts to which they trade, whom they redeem ſometimes at low rates; and in other places they have them for nothing; and ſo they fetch them away. All their Slaves are kept at perpetual labour, and are always chained, but with this difference, that they treat their own Natives much worſe, looking on them as a more profligate ſort of People; who not being reſtrained from Crimes, by the advantages of ſo excellent an Education, are judged worthy of harder uſage than others. Another ſort of Slaves, is, when ſome of the poorer ſort in the neighbouring Countries, offer of their own accord to come and ſerve them; they treat theſe better,

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and uſe them in all other reſpects, as well as their own Country Men, except that they impoſe more labour upon them, which is no hard task to them that have been accuſtomed to it; and if any of theſe have a mind to go back to their own Country, which indeed falls out but ſeldom, as they do not force them to ſtay, ſo they do not ſend them away empty handed.

I have already told you with what care they look after their Sick, ſo that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their Eaſe or Health: and for thoſe who are taken with fixed and incurable Diſeaſes, they uſe all poſſible ways to cheriſh them, and to make their Lives as comfortable as may be: they viſit them often, and take great pains to make their time paſs off eaſily: but when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, ſo that there is no hope, either of recovery or eaſe, the Prieſts and Magiſtrates come and exhort them, that ſince they are now unable to go on with the buſineſs of Life, and are become a burden to themſelves, and to all about them, ſo that they have really out-lived themſelves, they would no longer nouriſh ſuch a rooted Diſtem-

per, but would chuſe rather to die, ſince they cannot live, but in much miſery: being aſſured, that if they either deliver themſelves from their Priſon and Torture, or are willing that others ſhould do it, they ſhall be happy after their Deaths: And ſince by their dying thus, they loſe none of the Pleaſures, but only the Troubles of Life; they think they act, not only reaſonably in ſo doing, but religiouſly and piouſly; becauſe they follow the Advices that are given them by the Prieſts, who are the Expounders of the Will of God to them. Such as are wrought on by theſe Perſwaſions, do either ſtarve themſelves of their own accord, or they take *Opium*, and ſo they die without pain. But no Man is forced on this way of ending his Life; and if they cannot be perſwaded to it, they do not for that fail in their attendance and care of them: But as they believe that a voluntary Death, when it is choſen upon ſuch an Authority, is very honourable; ſo if any Man takes away his own Life, without the approbation of the Prieſts and the Senate, they give him none of the Honours of a decent Funeral, but throw his Body into ſome Ditch.

Their

Their Women are not married before eighteen, nor their Men before two and twenty; and if any of them run into forbidden Embraces before their Marriage, they are ſeverely puniſhed, and the privilege of Marriage is denied them, unleſs there is a ſpecial Warrant obtained for it afterward from the Prince. Such Diſorders caſt a great reproach upon the Maſter and Miſtreſs of the Family in which they fall out; for it is ſuppoſed, that they have been wanting to their Duty. The reaſon of puniſhing this ſo ſeverely, is, becauſe they think that if they were not ſo ſtrictly reſtrained from all vagrant Appetites, very few would engage in a married ſtate, in which Men venture the quiet of their whole Life, being reſtricted to one Perſon; beſides many other Inconveniences that do accompany it. In the way of chuſing of their Wives, they uſe a method that would appear to us very abſurd and ridiculous, but is conſtantly obſerved among them, and accounted a wiſe and good Rule. Before Marriage, ſome grave Matron preſents the Bride naked, whether ſhe is a Virgin or a Widow, to the Bridegroom; and after that, ſome grave Man preſents the Bridegroom naked to the

Bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as a very indecent thing. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the Men of all other Nations; who if they are but to buy a Horſe of a ſmall value, are ſo cautious, that they will ſee every part of him, and take off both his Sadle, and all his other Tackle, that there may be no ſecret Ulcer hid under under any of them; and that yet in the choice of a Wife, on which depends the happineſs or unhappineſs of the reſt of his Life, a Man ſhould venture upon truſt, and only ſee about an handbreadth of the Face, all the reſt of the Body being covered; under which there may lie hid that which may be contagious, as well as loathſome. All Men are not ſo wiſe, that they chuſe a Woman only for her good Qualities; and even wiſe Men conſider the Body, as that which adds not a little to the Mind: And it is certain, there may be ſome ſuch deformity covered with ones Clothes, as may totally alienate a Man from his Wife, when it is too late to part with her: for if ſuch a thing is diſcovered after Marriage, a Man has no remedy but patience: So they think it is reaſonable, that there ſhould be a good

proviſion made againſt ſuch miſchievous Frauds.

There was ſo much the more reaſon in making a regulation in this Matter, becauſe they are the only People of thoſe parts that do neither allow of Polygamy, nor of Divorces, except in the caſes of Adultery, or inſufferable Perverſneſs: for in theſe Caſes the Senate diſſolves the Marriage, and grants the injured Perſon leave to marry again; but the Guilty are made infamous, and are never allowed the privilege of a ſecond Marriage. None are ſuffered to put away their Wives againſt their Wills, becauſe of any great Calamity that may have fallen on their Perſon; for they look on it as the height of Cruelty and Treachery to abandon either of the married Perſons, when they need moſt the tender care of their Conſort; and that chiefly in the caſe of old Age, which as it carries many Diſeaſes along with it, ſo it is a Diſeaſe of it ſelf. But it falls often out, that when a married Couple do not agree well together, they by mutual conſent ſeparate, and find out other Perſons with whom they hope they may live more happily: yet this is not done, without obtaining

leave of the Senate; which never admits of a Divorce, but upon a ſtrict enquiry made, both by the Senators and their Wives, into the Grounds upon which it proceeds: and even when they are ſatisfied concerning the Reaſons of it, they go on but ſlowly, for they reckon that too great eaſineſs, in granting leave for new Marriages, would very much ſhake the kindneſs of married Perſons. They puniſh ſeverely thoſe that defile the Marriage-Bed: If both Parties are married, they are divorced, and the injured Perſons may marry one another, or whom they pleaſe; but the Adulterer, and the Adultereſs are condemned to ſlavery. Yet if either of the injured Perſons cannot ſhake off the Love of the married Perſon, they may live with them ſtill in that ſtate; but they muſt follow them to that Labour to which the Slaves are condemned; and ſometimes the Repentance of the condemned Perſon, together with the unſhaken kindneſs of the innocent and injured Perſon, has prevailed ſo far with the Prince, that he has taken off the Sentence: But thoſe that relapſe, after they are once pardoned, are puniſhed with Death.

Their

Their Law does not determine the Puniſhment for other Crimes; but that is left to the Senate, to temper it according to the Circumſtances of the Fact. Huſbands have power to correct their Wives, and Parents to correct their Children, unleſs the Fault is ſo great, that a publick Puniſhment is thought neceſſary for the ſtriking terror into others. For the moſt part, Slavery is the puniſhment even of the greateſt Crimes; for as that is no leſs terrible to the Criminals themſelves than Death; ſo they think the preſerving them in a ſtate of ſervitude, is more for the Intereſt of the Common-Wealth, than the killing them outright; ſince as their Labour is a greater benefit to the Publick, than their Death could be; ſo the ſight of their Miſery is a more laſting terror to other Men, than that which would be given by their Death. If their Slaves rebel, and will not bear their Yoke, and ſubmit to the Labour that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild Beaſts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a Priſon, nor by their Chains; and are at laſt put to death. But thoſe who bear their Puniſhment patiently, and are ſo much wrought on by that preſſure, that

lies

lies ſo hard on them, that it appears they are really more troubled for the Crimes they have committed, than for the Miſeries they ſuffer, are not out of hope, but that at laſt either the Prince will, by his Prerogative, or the People will by their interceſſion reſtore them again to their liberty, or at leaſt very much mitigate their ſlavery. He that tempts a married Woman to Adultery, is no leſs ſeverely puniſhed, than he that commits it; for they reckon that a laid and ſtudied Deſign of committing any Crime, is equal to the Fact it ſelf; ſince its not taking effect does not make the Perſon that did all that in him lay in order to it, a whit the leſs guilty.

They take great pleaſure in Fools, and as it is thought a baſe and unbecoming thing to uſe them ill, ſo they do not think it amiſs for People to divert themſelves with their Folly: and they think this is a great advantage to the Fools themſelves: For if Men were ſo ſullen and ſevere, as not at all to pleaſe themſelves with their ridiculous behaviour, and fooliſh ſayings, which is all that they can do to recommend themſelves to others, it could not be expected that they would

would be ſo well look'd to, nor ſo tenderly uſed as they muſt otherwiſe be. If any Man ſhould reproach another for his being miſhaped or imperfect in any part of his Body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the Perſon that were ſo treated, but it would be accounted a very unworthy thing for him that had upbraided another with that which he could not help. It is thought a ſign of a ſluggiſh and ſordid Mind, not to preſerve carefully one's natural Beauty; but it is likewiſe an infamous thing among them to uſe Paint or Fard. And they all ſee that no Beauty recommends a Wife ſo much to her Huſband, as the probity of her Life, and her Obedience: for as ſome few are catched and held only by Beauty, ſo all People are held by the other Excellencies which charm all the World.

As they fright Men from committing Crimes by Puniſhments, ſo they invite them to the love of Vertue, by publick Honours: therefore they erect Statues in honour to the memories of ſuch worthy Men as have deſerved well of their Country, and ſet theſe in their Market-places, both to perpetuate the remembrance of their Actions, and to be an incitement

to

to their Poſterity to follow their example.

If any Man aſpires to any Office, he is ſure never to compaſs it: They live all eaſily together, for none of the Magiſtrates are either inſolent or cruel to the People; but they affect rather to be called *Fathers*, and by being really ſo, they well deſerve that Name; and the People pay them all the marks of Honour the more freely, becauſe none are exacted of them. The Prince himſelf has no diſtinction, either of Garments, or of a Crown; but is only known by a Sheaf of Corn that is carried before him, as the High Prieſt is alſo known by a Wax Light that is carried before him.

They have but few Laws, and ſuch is their Conſtitution, that they need not many. They do very much condemn other Nations, whoſe Laws, together with the Commentaries on them, ſwell up to ſo many Volumes; for they think it an unreaſonable thing to oblige Men to obey a Body of Laws, that are both of ſuch a bulk, and ſo dark, that they cannot be read or underſtood by every one of the Subjects.

They

They have no Lawyers among them, for they conſider them as a ſort of People, whoſe Profeſſion it is to diſguiſe Matters, as well as to wreſt Laws; and therefore they think it is much better that every Man ſhould plead his own Cauſe, and truſt it to the Judg, as well as in other places the Client does it to a Counſellor. By this means they both cut off many delays, and find out Truth more certainly: for after the Parties have laid open the Merits of their Cauſe, without thoſe Artifices which Lawyers are apt to ſuggeſt, the Judg examines the whole Matter, and ſupports the ſimplicity of ſuch well meaning Perſons, whom otherwiſe crafty Men would be ſure to run down: And thus they avoid thoſe Evils, which appear very remarkably among all thoſe Nations that labour under a vaſt load of Laws. Every one of them is skilled in their Law, for as it is a very ſhort ſtudy, ſo the plainneſt meaning of which words are capable, is always the ſenſe of their Laws. And they argue thus; All Laws are promulgated for this end, that every Man may know his Duty; and therefore the plaineſt and moſt obvious ſenſe of the words, is that which muſt be put on them; ſince

ſince a more refined Expoſition cannot be eaſily comprehended, and Laws become thereby uſeleſs to the greater part of Mankind, who need moſt the direction of them: for to them it is all one, not to make a Law at all, and to couch it in ſuch tearms, that without a quick apprehenſion, and much ſtudy, a Man cannot find out the true meaning of it; and the generality of Mankind are both ſo dull, and ſo much imployed in their ſeveral Trades, that they have neither the leiſure nor the capacity requiſite for ſuch an enquiry.

Some of their Neighbours, who are Maſters of their own Liberties, having long ago, by the aſſiſtance of the *Utopians*, ſhaken off the Yoke of Tyranny; and being much taken with thoſe Vertues that they obſerve among them, have come to them, and deſired that they would ſend Magiſtrates among them to govern them; ſome changing them every Year, and others every five Years. At the end of their Government, they bring them back to *Utopia*, with great expreſſions of honour and eſteem, and carry away others to govern in their ſtead. In this they ſeem to have fallen upon a very good Expedient

pedient for their own happineſs and ſafety: For ſince the good or ill Condition of a Nation depends ſo much upon their Magiſtrates, they could not have made a better choice, than by pitching on Men whom no Advantages can biaſs; for Wealth is of no uſe to them, ſince they muſt go ſo ſoon back to their own Country; and they being ſtrangers among them, are not engaged in any of their Heats or Animoſities: And it is certain, that when Publick Judicatories are ſwayed, either by partial Affections, or by Avarice, there muſt follow upon it a diſſolution of all Juſtice, which is the chief Sinew of Society.

The *Utopians* call thoſe Nations that come and ask Magiſtrates from them, *Neighbours*; but they call thoſe to whom they have been more particularly aſſiſting, *Friends*. And whereas all other Nations are perpetually either making Leagues, or breaking them, they never enter into any Alliance with any other State. They think Leagues are uſeleſs things, and reckon, that if the common Ties of Humane Nature do not knit Men together, the Faith of Promiſes will have no great effect on them: And they are the more confirmed

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in this, by that which they ſee among the Nations round about them, who are no ſtrict obſervers of Leagues and Treaties. We know how religiouſly they are obſerved in *Europe*; more particularly where the Chriſtian Doctrine is received, among whom they are ſacred and inviolable. Which is partly owing to the Juſtice and Goodneſs of the Princes themſelves, and partly to their Reverence that they pay to the Popes: who as they are moſt religious obſervers of their own Promiſes, ſo they exhort all other Princes to perform theirs; and when fainter Methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the ſeverity of the Paſtoral Cenſure; and think that it would be the moſt indecent thing poſſible, if Men who are particularly deſigned by the title of *the Faithful*, ſhould not religiouſly keep the *Faith* of their Treaties. But in that new found World, which is not more diſtant from us in Scituation, than it is diſagreeing from us in their Manners, and courſe of Life, there is no truſting to Leagues, even tho they were made with all the pomp of the moſt Sacred Ceremonies that is poſſible: On the contrary, they are the ſooner broken for that, ſome ſlight Pretence being found

found in the words of the Treaties, which are contrived in such ambiguous Terms, and that on design, that they can never be so strictly bound, but they will always find some Loop-hole to escape at; and so they break both their Leagues and their Faith. And this is done with that impudence, that those very Men who value themselves on having suggested these Advices to their Princes, would yet, with a haughty scorn, declaim against such Craft, or to speak plainer, such Fraud and Deceit, if they found private Men make use of it in their Bargains; and would readily say, that they deserved to be hanged for it.

By this means it is, that all sort of Justice passes in the World, but for a low-spirited and vulgar Vertue, which is far below the dignity of Royal Greatness. Or at least, there are two sorts of Justice set up: the one is mean, and creeps on the Ground, and therefore becomes none but the baser sort of Men, and so must be kept in severely by many restraints, that it may not break out beyond the Bounds that are set to it. The other is, the peculiar Vertue of Princes, which as it is more majestick than that which becomes the

Rabble, ſo takes a freer compaſs; and lawful or unlawful, are only meaſured by Pleaſure and Intereſt. Theſe practices among the Princes that lie about *Utopia*, who make ſo little account of their Faith, ſeem to be the Reaſons that determine them to engage in no Confederacies: perhaps they would change their mind if they lived among us: but yet tho Treaties were more religiouſly obſerved, they would ſtill diſlike the cuſtom of making them; ſince the World has taken up a falſe Maxim upon it, as if there were no tie of Nature knitting one Nation to another, that are only ſeparated perhaps by a Mountain, or a River, and that all were born in a ſtate of Hoſtility, and ſo might lawfully do all that miſchief to their Neighbours, againſt which there is no proviſion made by Treaties: And that when Treaties are made, they do not cut off the Enmity, or reſtrain the Licenſe of preying upon one another, if by the unskilfulneſs of wording them, there are not effectual *Proviſo's* made againſt them. They on the other hand judg, that no Man is to be eſteemed our Enemy that has never injured us; and that the Partnerſhip of the Humane Nature, that is among

among all Men, is inſtead of a League. And that kindneſs and good Nature unite Men more effectually, and more forcibly than any Agreements whatſoever; ſince thereby the Engagements of Mens Hearts become ſtronger, than any thing can be to which a few words can bind them.

Of their Military Diſcipline.

THey deteſt War as a very brutal thing; and which, to the reproach of Humane Nature, is more practiſed by Men, than by any ſort of Beaſts: and they, againſt the cuſtom of almoſt all other Nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that Glory that is gained by War: And therefore tho they accuſtom themſelves daily to Military Exerciſes, and the Diſcipline of War, in which not only their Men, but their Women likewiſe, are trained up, that ſo in caſes of Neceſſity, they may not be quite uſeleſs: Yet they do not raſhly engage in War, unleſs it be either to defend themſelves, or their Friends, from any unjuſt Aggreſſors; or out of good Nature, or in compaſſion to an oppreſſed Nation, that they aſſiſt them to the ſhaking off the Yoke

Tyranny. They indeed help their Friends, not only in Defenſive, but alſo in Offenſive Wars: but they never do that, unleſs they had been conſulted with while the Matter was yet entire; and that being ſatisfied with the Grounds on which they went, they had found that all Demands of Reparation were rejected, ſo that a War was neceſſary: which they do not think to be only juſt, when one Neighbour makes an inrode on another, by publick Order, and carries away their Spoils; but when the Merchants of one Country are oppreſſed in another, either under the pretence of ſome unjuſt Laws, or by the perverſe wreſting of good ones: this they count a juſter cauſe of War than the other, becauſe thoſe Injuries are done under ſome colour of Laws. This was the only Ground of that War, in which they engaged with the *Nephelogetes* againſt the *Aleopolitanes*, a little before our time: for the Merchants of the former, having, as they thought, met with great injuſtice among the latter, that, whether it was in it ſelf right or wrong, did draw on a terrible War, many of their Neighbours being engaged in it; and their keenneſs in carrying it on, being ſupported by their ſtrength

ſtrength in maintaining it; it not only ſhook ſome very flouriſhing States, and very much afflicted others; but after a ſeries of much Miſchief, it ended in the entire conqueſt and ſlavery of the *Aleopolitanes*, who tho before the War, they were in all reſpects much ſuperior to the *Nephelogetes*, yet by it they fell under their Empire; But the *Utopians*, tho they had aſſiſted them in the War, yet pretended to no ſhare of the ſpoil.

But tho they aſſiſt their Friends ſo vigorouſly, in taking reparation for Injuries that are done them in ſuch Matters; yet if they themſelves ſhould meet with any ſuch fraud, provided there were no violence done to their Perſons, they would only carry it ſo far, that unleſs ſatisfaction were made, they would give over trading with ſuch a People. This is not done, becauſe they conſider their Neighbours more than their own Citizens; but ſince their Neighbours trade every one upon his own Stock, Fraud is a more ſenſible injury to them, than it is to the *Utopians*, among whom the Publick only ſuffers in ſuch a caſe: And ſince they expect nothing in return for the Merchandize that they export; but that in

which they abound ſo much, and is of little uſe to them, the loſs does not much affect them; therefore they think it would be too ſevere a thing to revenge a Loſs that brings ſo little inconvenience with it, either to their Life, or their Livelihood, with the death of many People: but if any of their People is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether that be done by Publick Authority, or only by private Men, as ſoon as they hear of it, they ſend Ambaſſadors, and demand, that the Guilty Perſons may be delivered up to them; and if that is denied, they declare War; but if that is done, they condemn thoſe either to Death or Slavery.

They would be both troubled and aſhamed of a *bloody Victory* over their Enemies; and think it would be as fooliſh a Purchaſe, as to buy the moſt valuable Goods at too high a Rate. And in no Victory do they glory ſo much, as in that which is gained by dexterity and good conduct, without Bloodſhed. They appoint publick Triumphs in ſuch Caſes, and erect Trophies to the honour of thoſe who have ſucceeded well in them; for then do they reckon that a Man acts ſutably to his

his Nature, when he conquers his Enemy in ſuch a way, that no other Creature but a Man could be capable of it, and that is, by the ſtrength of his Underſtanding. Bears, Lions, Boars, Wolves, and Dogs, and other Animals, imploy their bodily Force one againſt another, in which as many of them are ſuperior to Man, both in ſtrength and fierceneſs, ſo they are all ſubdued by the reaſon and underſtanding that is in him.

The only Deſign of the *Utopians* in War, is to obtain that by Force, which if it had been granted them in time, would have prevented the War; or if that cannot be done, to take ſo ſevere a Revenge of thoſe that have injured them, that they may be terrified from doing the like in all time coming. By theſe Ends they meaſure all their Deſigns, and manage them ſo, that it is viſible that the Appetite of Fame or Vain-glory, does not work ſo much on them, as a juſt care of their own Security.

As ſoon as they declare War, they take care to have a great many Schedules, that are ſealed with their Common Seal, affixed in the moſt conſpicuous places of their Enemies Country. This is carried ſecretly,

and done in many places all at once. In those they promise great Rewards to such as shall kill the Prince, and lesser in proportion to such as shall kill any other Persons, who are those on whom, next to the Prince himself, they cast the chief blame of the War. And they double the Sum to him, that instead of killing the Person so marked out, shall take him alive, and put him in their hands. They offer not only Indemnity, but Rewards, to such of the Persons themselves that are so marked, if they will act against their Countrymen: By this means those that are named in their Schedules, become not only distrustful of their Fellow-Citizens, but are jealous of one another: and are much distracted by Fear and Danger; for it has often fallen out, that many of them, and even the Prince himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most: for the Rewards that the *Utopians* offer, are so unmeasurably great, that there is no sort of Crime to which Men cannot be drawn by them. They consider the Risque that those run, who undertake such Services, and offer a Recompence proportioned to the danger; not only a vast deal of Gold, but great Revenues in Lands,

that

that lie among other Nations that are their Friends, where they may go and enjoy them very ſecurely; and they obſerve the Promiſes they make of this kind moſt religiouſly. They do very much approve of this way of corrupting their Enemies, tho it appears to others to be a baſe and cruel thing; but they look on it as a wiſe courſe, to make an end of that which would be otherwiſe a great War, without ſo much as hazarding one Battel to decide it. They think it likewiſe an Act of Mercy and Love to Mankind, to prevent the great ſlaughter of thoſe that muſt otherwiſe be killed in the progreſs of the War, both of their own ſide, and of their Enemies, by the death of a few that are moſt guilty; and that in ſo doing, they are kind even to their Enemies, and pity them no leſs than their own People, as knowing that the greater part of them do not engage in the War of their own accord, but are driven into it by the Paſſions of their Prince.

If this Method does not ſucceed with them, then they ſow Seeds of Contention among their Enemies, and animate the Prince's Brother, or ſome of the Nobility, to aſpire to the Crown. If they cannot diſunite

diſunite them by Domeſtick Broils, then they engage their Neighbours againſt them, and make them ſet on foot ſome old Pretenſions, which are never wanting to Princes, when they have occaſion for them. And they ſupply them plentifully with Mony, tho but very ſparingly with any Auxiliary Troops: for they are ſo tender of their own People, that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even with the Prince of their Enemies Country.

But as they keep their Gold and Silver only for ſuch an occaſion, ſo when that offers it ſelf, they eaſily part with it, ſince it would be no inconvenience to them, tho they ſhould reſerve nothing of it to themſelves. For beſides the Wealth that they have among them at home, they have a vaſt Treaſure abroad; Many Nations round about them, being deep in their Debt: ſo that they hire Souldiers from all Places for carrying on their Wars; but chiefly from the *Zapolets*, who lie five hundred miles from *Utopia* eaſtward. They are a rude, wild, and fierce Nation, who delight in the Woods and Rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardned both

againſt

againſt Heat, Cold, and Labour, and know nothing of the delicacies of Life. They do not apply themſelves to Agriculture, nor do they care either for their Houſes or their Clothes. Cattel is all that they look after; and for the greateſt part, they live either by their Hunting, or upon Rapine; and are made, as it were, only for War. They watch all opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace ſuch as are offered them. Great numbers of them will often go out, and offer themſelves upon a very low Pay, to ſerve any that will employ them: they know none of the Arts of Life, but thoſe that lead to the taking it away; they ſerve thoſe that hire them, both with much courage and great Fidelity; but will not engage to ſerve for any determin'd time, and agree upon ſuch Terms, that the next day they may go over to the Enemies of thoſe whom they ſerve, if they offer them a greater pay: and they will perhaps return to them the day after that, upon a higher advance of their Pay. There are few Wars in which they make not a conſiderable part of the Armies of both ſides: ſo it falls often out, that they that are of kin to one another,

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and were hired in the ſame Country, and ſo have lived long and familiarly together; yet they forgetting both their Relation and former Friendſhip, kill one another upon no other conſideration, but becauſe they are hired to it for a little Mony, by Princes of different Intereſts: and ſo great regard have they to Mony, that they are eaſily wrought on by the difference of one Penny a Day, to change ſides. So entirely does their Avarice turn them, and yet this Mony on which they are ſo much ſet, is of little uſe to them; for what they purchaſe thus with their Blood, they quickly waſte it on Luxury, which among them is but of a poor and miſerable form.

This Nation ſerves the *Utopians* againſt all People whatſoever, for they pay higher than any other. The *Utopians* hold this for a Maxim, that as they ſeek out the beſt ſort of Men for their own uſe at home, ſo they make uſe of this worſt ſort of Men for the Conſumption of War, and therefore they hire them with the offers of vaſt Rewards, to expoſe themſelves to all ſorts of hazards, out of which the greater part never returns to claim their Promiſes. Yet they make them good

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moſt religiouſly to ſuch as eſcape. And this animates them to adventure again, when there is occaſion for it; for the *Utopians* are not at all troubled how many of them ſoever happen to be killed; and reckon it a ſervice done to Mankind, if they could be a mean to deliver the World from ſuch a leud and vicious ſort of People, that ſeem to have run together, as to the Drain of Humane Nature. Next to theſe they are ſerved in their Wars, with thoſe upon whoſe account they undertake them, and with the Auxiliary Troops of their other Friends, to whom they join ſome few of their own People, and ſend ſome Man of eminent and approved Vertue to command in chief. There are two ſent with him, who during his Command, are but private Men, but the firſt is to ſucceed him if he ſhould happen to be either killed or taken; and in caſe of the like misfortune to him, the third comes in his place; and thus they provide againſt ill Events, that ſuch Accidents as may befal their Generals, may not endanger their Armies. When they draw out Troops of their own People, they take ſuch out of every City as freely offer themſelves, for none are forced

ced to go againſt their Wills, ſince they think that if any Man is preſſed that wants courage, he will not only act faintly, but by his cowardiſe he will diſhearten others. But if any Invaſion is made of their Country, they make uſe of ſuch Men, if they have good Bodies, tho they are not brave; and either put them aboard their Ships, or place them on the Walls of their Towns, that being ſo poſted, they may not find occaſions of flying away; and thus either ſhame, the heat of action, or the impoſſibility of flying, bears down their Cowardiſe; and ſo they make often a Vertue of Neceſſity, and behave themſelves well, becauſe nothing elſe is left them. But as they force no Man to go into any Forreign War againſt his will, ſo they do not hinder ſuch Women as are willing to go along with their Huſbands: On the contrary, they encourage and praiſe them much for doing it; they ſtand often next their Huſbands, in the front of the Army. They alſo place thoſe that are related together, and Parents, and Children, Kindred, and thoſe that are mutually allied, near one another; that thoſe whom Nature has inſpired with the greateſt zeal of aſſiſting one another,

may

may be the neareſt and readieſt to do it; and it is matter of great reproach, if Huſband or Wife ſurvive one another, or if a Child ſurvives his Parent, and therefore when they come to be engaged in action, they continue to fight to the laſt Man, if their Enemies ſtand before them: And as they uſe all prudent Methods to avoid the endangering their own Men; and if it is poſſible, let all the Action and Danger fall upon the Troops that they hire; ſo if it comes to that, that they muſt engage, they charge then with as much courage, as they avoided it before with prudence: nor is it a fierce Charge at firſt, but it encreaſes by degrees; and as they continue in Action, they grow more obſtinate, and preſs harder upon the Enemy, inſomuch that they will much ſooner die than give ground; for the certainty in which they are, that their Children will be well looked after, when they are dead, frees them from all anxiety concerning them, which does often maſter Men of great courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible reſolution. Their skill in Military Matters encreaſes their Courage; and the good Opinions which are infuſed in them during their Education, accord-

ing to the Laws of the Country, and their Learning, add more vigor to their Minds: for as they do not undervalue Life to the degree of throwing it away too prodigally; ſo they are not ſo indecently fond of it, that when they ſee they muſt ſacrifice it honourably, they will preſerve it by baſe and unbecoming Methods. In the greateſt heat of Action, the braveſt of their Youth, that have jointly devoted themſelves for that piece of Service, ſingle out the General of their Enemies, and ſet on him either openly, or lay an Ambuſcade for him: if any of them are ſpent and wearied in the Attempt, others come in their ſtead, ſo that they never give over purſuing him, either by cloſe Weapons, when they can get near him, or thoſe that wound at a diſtance, when others get in between: thus they ſeldom fail to kill or take him at laſt, if he does not ſecure himſelf by flight. When they gain the Day in any Battel, they kill as few as poſſibly they can; and are much more ſet on taking many Priſoners, than on killing thoſe that fly before them: nor do they ever let their Men ſo looſe in the purſuit of their Enemies, that they do not retain an entire Body ſtill in order;

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ſo that if they have been forced to engage the laſt of their Battalions, before they could gain the day, they will rather let their Enemies all eſcape than purſue them, when their own Army is in diſorder; remembring well what has often fallen out to themſelves; that when the main Body of their Army has been quite defeated and broken, ſo that their Enemies reckoning the Victory was ſure and in their hands, have let themſelves looſe into an irregular purſuit, a few of them that lay for a reſerve, waiting a fit opportunity, have fallen on them while they were in this chaſe, ſtragling and in diſorder, apprehenſive of no danger, but counting the Day their own; and have turned the whole Action, and ſo wreſting out of their hands a Victory that ſeemed certain and undoubted, the vanquiſhed have of a ſudden become victorious.

It is hard to tell whether they are more dextrous in laying or avoiding Ambuſhes: they ſometimes ſeem to fly when it is far from their thoughts; and when they intend to give Ground, they do it ſo, that it is very hard to find out their Deſign. If they ſee they are ill poſted, or are like to be overpowred by numbers, then they

either march off in the Night with great ſilence, or by ſome Stratagem they delude their Enemies: if they retire in the day-time, they do it in ſuch order, that it is no leſs dangerous to fall upon them in a Retreat, than in a March. They fortify their Camps well, with a deep and large Trench; and throw up the Earth that is dug out of it for a Wall; nor do they employ only their Slaves in this, but the whole Army works at it, except thoſe that are then upon the Guard; ſo that when ſo many hands are at work, a great Line and a ſtrong Fortification is finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time, that it is ſcarce credible. Their Armour is very ſtrong for defence, and yet is not ſo heavy as to make them uneaſy in their Marches; they can even ſwim with it. All that are trained up to War, practiſe ſwimming much: both Horſe and Foot, make great uſe of Arrows, and are very expert at it: they have no Swords, but fight with a Poll-ax that is both ſharp and heavy, by which they thruſt or ſtrike down an Enemy; they are very good at finding out warlike Machines, and diſguiſe them ſo well, that the Enemy does not perceive them, till he feels the uſe of them; ſo that he cannot prepare ſuch a Defence a-

gainſt

gainſt them, by which they might be made ridiculous, as well as uſeleſs; the chief conſideration had in the making of them, is, that they may be eaſily carried and managed.

If they agree to a Truce, they obſerve it ſo religiouſly, that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their Enemies Country waſte, nor burn their Corn, and even in their Marches they take all poſſible care, that neither Horſe nor Foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have uſe for it themſelves. They hurt no Man that they find diſarmed, unleſs he is a Spy. When a Town is ſurrendred to them, they take it into their Protection: and when they carry a place by ſtorm, they never plunder it, but put thoſe only to the Sword that oppoſed the rendring of it, and make the reſt of the Gariſon Slaves: but for the other Inhabitants, they do them no hurt; and if any of them had adviſed a ſurrender of it, they give them good Rewards out of the Eſtates of thoſe that they condemn, and diſtribute the reſt among their Auxiliary Troops, but they themſelves take no ſhare of the Spoil.

When a War is ended, they do not oblige

lige their Friends to reimburſe them of their expence in it; but they take that from the conquered, either in Mony which they keep for the next occaſion, or in Lands, out of which a conſtant Revenue is to be paid them; by many increaſes, the Revenue which they draw out from ſeveral Countries on ſuch Occaſions, is now riſen to above 700000 Ducats a Year. They ſend ſome of their own People to receive theſe Revenues, who have orders to live magnificently, and like Princes, and ſo they conſume much of it upon the place; and either bring over the reſt to *Utopia*, or lend it to that Nation in which it lies. This they moſt commonly do, unleſs ſome great occaſion which falls out, but very ſeldom, ſhould oblige them to call for it all. It is out of theſe Lands that they aſſign thoſe Rewards to ſuch as they encourage to adventure on deſperate Attempts, which was mentioned formerly. If any Prince that engages in War with them, is making preparations for invading their Country, they prevent him, and make his Country the Seat of the War; for they do not willingly ſuffer any War to break in upon their Iſland; and if that ſhould happen, they would only defend themſelves

ſelves by their own People; but would not at all call for Auxiliary Troops to their aſſiſtance.

Of the Religions of the Utopians.

THere are ſeveral ſorts of Religions, not only in different parts of the Iſland, but even in every Town; ſome worſhipping the Sun, others the Moon, or one of the Planets: ſome worſhip ſuch Men as have been eminent in former times for Vertue, or Glory, not only as ordinary Deities, but as the ſupream God: yet the greater and wiſer ſort of them worſhip none of theſe, but adore one Eternal, Inviſible, Infinite, and Incomprehenſible Deity; as a Being that is far above all our Apprehenſions, that is ſpread over the whole Univerſe, not by its Bulk, but by its Power and Vertue; him they call the *Father of all*, and acknowledg that the beginnings, the encreaſe, the progreſs, the viciſſitudes, and the end of all things come only from him; nor do they offer divine honouts to any but to him alone. And indeed, tho they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this; that they think there is one ſupream Being

that made and governs the World, whom they call in the Language of their Country, *Mithras*. They differ in this, that one thinks the God whom he worſhips is this Supream Being, and another thinks that his Idol is that God; but they all agree in one principle, that whatever is this Supream Being, is alſo that Great Eſſence, to whoſe Glory and Majeſty all honours are aſcribed by the conſent of all Nations.

By degrees, they all fall off from the various Superſtitions that are among them, and grow up to that one Religion that is moſt in requeſt, and is much the beſt: and there is no doubt to be made, but that all the others had vaniſhed long ago, if it had not happned that ſome unlucky Accidents, falling on thoſe who were adviſing the change of thoſe ſuperſtitious ways of Worſhip; theſe have been aſcribed not to Chance, but to ſomewhat from Heaven; and ſo have raiſed in them a fear, that the God, whoſe Worſhip was like to be abandoned, has interpoſed and revenged himſelf on thoſe that deſigned it.

After they had heard from us, an account of the Doctrine, the courſe of Life, and the Miracles of Chriſt, and of the wonderful conſtancy of ſo many Martyrs,

tyrs, whoſe Blood, that was ſo willingly offered up by them, was the chief occaſion of ſpreading their Religion over a vaſt number of Nations; it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I ſhall not determine whether this proceeded from any ſecret inſpiration of God, or whether it was becauſe it ſeemed ſo favorable to that community of Goods, which is an opinion ſo particular, as well as ſo dear to them; ſince they perceived that Chriſt and his Followers lived by that Rule; and that it was ſtill kept up in ſome Communities among the ſincereſt ſort of Chriſtians. From which ſoever of theſe Motives it might be, true it is, that many of them came over to our Religion, and were initiated into it by Baptiſm. But as two of our number were dead, ſo none of the four that ſurvived, were in Prieſts Orders; therefore we could do no more but baptize them; ſo that to our great regret, they could not partake of the other Sacraments, that can only be adminiſtred by Prieſts: but they are inſtructed concerning them, and long moſt vehemently for them; and they were diſputing very much among themſelves, Whether one that were choſen

by them to be a Preiſt, would not be thereby qualified to do all the things that belong to that Character, even tho he had no Authority derived from the Pope; and they ſeemed to be reſolved to chuſe ſome for that Imployment, but they had not done it when I left them.

Thoſe among them that have not received our Religion, yet do not fright any from it, and uſe none ill that goes over to it; ſo that all the while I was there, one Man was only puniſhed on this occaſion. He being newly baptized, did, notwithſtanding all that we could ſay to the contrary, diſpute publickly concerning the Chriſtian Religion, with more zeal than diſcretion; and with ſo much heat, that he not only preferred our Worſhip to theirs, but condemned all their Rites as profane; and cried out againſt all that adhered to them, as impious and ſacrilegious Perſons, that were to be damned to everlaſting Burnings. Upon this he, having preached theſe things often, was ſeized on, and after a Trial, he was condemned to baniſhment, not for having diſparaged their Religion, but for his inflaming the People to Sedition: for this is one of their ancienteſt Laws, that no

Man

Man ought to be punished for his Religion. At the first constitution of their Goverment, *Utopus* having understood, that before his coming among them, the old Inhabitans had been engaged in *grtat quarrels* concerning Religion, by which they were so broken among themselves, that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, since they did not unite their Forces against him, but every different Party in Religion fought by themselves: upon that, after he had subdued them, he made a Law that every Man might be of what Religion he pleased, and might endeavor to draw others to it by the force of Argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other Opinions; but that he ought to use no other Force but that of Persuasion; and was neither to mixt Reproaches nor Violence with it; and such as did otherwise, were to be condemned to Banishment or Slavery.

This Law was made by *Utopus*, not only for preserving the Publick Peace, which he saw suffered much by daily Contentions and Irreconcilable Heats in these Matters, but because he thought the Interest of Religion it self required it.

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He judged it was not fit to determine any thing rashly in that Matter; and seemed to doubt whether those different Forms of Religion might not all come from God, who might inspire Men differently, he being possibly pleased with a variety in it: and so he thought it was a very indecent and foolish thing for any Man to frighten and threaten other Men to believe any thing because it seemed true to him; and in case that one Religion were certainly true, and all the rest false, he reckoned that the native Force of Truth would break forth at last, and shine bright, if it were managed only by the strength of Argument, and with a winning gentleness; whereas if such Matters were carried on by Violence and Tumults, then, as the wickedest sort of Men is always the most obstinate, so the holiest and best Religion in the World might be overlaid with so much foolish superstition, that it would be quite choaked with it, as Corn is with Briars and Thorns; therefore he left Men wholly to their liberty in this matter, that they might be free to beleive as they should see cause; only he made a solemn and severe Law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity

of

of humane Nature, as to think that our Souls died with our Bodies, or that the World was governed by Chance, without a wiſe over-ruling Providence: for they did all formerly believe that there was a ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments to the Good and Bad after this Life; and they look on thoſe that think otherwiſe, as ſcarce fit to be counted Men, ſince they degrade ſo noble a Being as our Soul is, and reckon it to be no better than a Beaſt's; ſo far are they from looking on ſuch Men as fit for humane ſociety, or to be Citizens of a well-ordered Common-Wealth; ſince a Man of ſuch Principles muſt needs, as oft as he dares do it, deſpiſe all their Laws and Cuſtoms: for there is no doubt to be made, that a Man who is affraid of nothing but the Law, and apprehends nothing after death, will not ſtand to break through all the Laws of his Country, either by fraud or force, that ſo he may ſatisfy his Appetites. They never raiſe any that hold theſe Maxims, either to Honours or Offices, nor imploy them in any publick Truſt, but deſpiſe them, as Men of baſe and ſordid Minds: yet they do not puniſh them, becauſe they lay this down

doun for a ground, that a Man cannot make himſelf beleive any thing he pleaſes; nor do they drive any to diſſemble their thoughts by threatnings, ſo that Men are not tempted to lie or diſguiſe their Opinions among them; which being a ſort of Fraud, is abhorred by the *Utopians*: they take indeed care that they may not argue for theſe Opinions, eſpecially before the common People: But they do ſuffer, and even encourage them to diſpute concerning them in private with their Prieſts, and and other grave Men, being confident that they will be cured of thoſe mad Opinions, by having reaſon laid before them. There are many among them that run far to the other extream, tho it is neither thought an ill nor unreaſonable Opinion, and therfore is not at all diſcouraged. They think that the Souls of Beaſts are immortal, tho far inferior to the dignity of the humane Soul, and not capable of ſo great a happineſs. They are almoſt all of them very firmly perſwaded, that good Men will be infinitely happy in another ſtate; ſo that tho they are compaſſionate to all that are ſick, yet they lament no Man's Death, except they ſee him part with Life uneaſy, and as if he

were

were forced to it; For they look on this as a very ill perſage, as if the Soul being conſcious to it ſelf of Guilt, and quite hopeleſs, were affraid to die, from ſome ſecret hints of approaching miſery. They think that ſuch a Man's appearance before God, cannot be acceptable to him, who being called on, does not go out chearfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are ſtruck with horror, when they ſee any die in this manner, and carry them out in ſilence, and with ſorrow, and praying God that he would be merciful to the Errors of the departed Soul, they lay the Body in the Ground: but when any die chearfully, and full of hope, they do not mourn for them, but ſing Hymns when they carry out their Bodies, and commending their Souls very earneſtly to God, in ſuch a manner, that their whole behaviour is rather grave then ſad, they burn their Body, and ſet up a Pillar where the Pile was made, with an Inſcription to the honour of ſuch Mens memory; And when they come from the Funeral, they diſcourſe of their good Life, and worthy Actions, but ſpeak of nothing oftner and with more pleaſure,

pleaſure, than of their ſerenity at their Death. They think ſuch reſpect paid to the memory of good Men, is both the greateſt Incitement to engage others to follow their Example, and the moſt acceptable Worſhip that can be offered them; for they believe that tho by the imperfection of humane ſight, they are inviſible to us, yet they are preſent among us, and hear thoſe Diſcourſes that paſs concerning themſelves. And they think that it does not agree to the happineſs of departed Souls, not to be at liberty to be where they will: nor do they imagine them capable of the ingratitude of not deſiring to ſee thoſe Friends, with whom they lived on Earth in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Love and Kindneſs: and they judg, that ſuch good Principles, as all other good Things, are rather encreaſed than leſſened in good Men after their death: ſo that they conclude they are ſtill among the living, and do obſerve all that is ſaid or done by them. And they engage in all Affairs that they ſet about, with ſo much the more aſſurance, truſting to their protection; and the opinion that they have of their Anceſtors being ſtill preſent, is a great

great reſtraint on them from all ill Deſigns.

They deſpiſe and laugh at all ſorts of Auguries, and the other vain and ſuperſtitious ways of Divination, that are ſo much obſerved among other Nations; but they have great reverence for ſuch Miracles as cannot flow from any of the Powers of Nature, and look on them as Effects and Indications of the preſence of the Supream Being, of which they ſay many Inſtances have occurred among them; and that ſometimes their publick Prayers, which upon great and dangerous Occaſions they have ſolemnly put up to God, with aſſured confidence of being heard, have been anſwered in a miraculous manner.

They think the contemplating God in his Works, and the adoring him for them, is a very acceptable piece of Worſhip to him.

There are many among them, that upon a motive of Religion, neglect Learning, and apply themſelves to no ſort of ſtudy; nor do they allow themſelves any leaſure-time, but are perpetually imployed in doing ſomewhat, believing that by the good things that a Man does he ſecures to himſelf

himſelf that happineſs that comes after Death. Some of theſe viſit the Sick; others mend High-ways, cleanſe Ditches, or repair Bridges, and dig Turf, Gravel, or Stones. Others fell and cleave Timber, and bring Wood, Corn, and other Neceſſaries, on Carts, into their Towns. Nor do theſe only ſerve the Publick, but they ſerve even Private Men, more than the Slaves themſelves do: for if there is any where a rough, hard, and ſordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightned by the labour and loathſomeneſs of it, if not the deſpair of accompliſhing it, they do chearfully, and of their own accord, take that to their ſhare; and by that means, as they eaſe others very much, ſo they afflict themſelves, and ſpend their whole life in hard Labor: and yet they do not value themſelves upon that, nor leſſen other peoples credit, that by ſo doing they may raiſe their own; but by their ſtooping to ſuch ſervile Employments, they are ſo far from being deſpiſed, that they are ſo much the more eſteemed by the whole Nation.

Of theſe there are two ſorts: Some live unmarried and chaſt, and abſtain from eating any ſort of Fleſh; and thus weaning

ing themſelves from all the pleaſures of the preſent Life, which they account hurtful, they purſue, even by the hardeſt and painfulleſt methods poſſible, that bleſſedneſs which they hope for hereafter; and the nearer they approach to it, they are the more chearful and earneſt in their endeavours after it. Another ſort of them is leſs willing to put themſelves to much toil, and ſo they prefer a married ſtate to a ſingle one; and as they do not deny themſelves the pleaſure of it, ſo they think the begetting of Children is a debt which they owe to Humane Nature, and to their Country: nor do they avoid any Pleaſure that does not hinder Labour; and therefore they eat Fleſh ſo much the more willingly, becauſe they find themſelves ſo much the more able for work by it: The *Utopians* look upon theſe as the wiſer Sect, but they eſteem the others as the holier. They would indeed laugh at any Man, that upon the Principles of Reaſon, would prefer an unmarried ſtate to a married, or a Life of Labour to an eaſy Life: but they reverence and admire ſuch as do it upon a Motive of Religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious, than in giving their Opinion po-

ſitively concerning any ſort of Religion. The Men that lead thoſe ſevere Lives, are called in the Language of their Country *Brutheskas*, which anſwers to thoſe we call *Religious Orders*.

Their Prieſts are Men of eminent Piety, and therefore they are but few, for there are only thirteen in every Town, one for every Temple in it; but when they go to War, ſeven of theſe go out with their Forces, and ſeven others are choſen to ſupply their room in their abſence; but theſe enter again upon their Employment when they return; and thoſe who ſerved in their abſence, attend upon the High Prieſt, till Vacancies fall by Death; for there is one that is ſet over all the reſt. They are choſen by the People, as the other Magiſtrates are, by Suffrages given in ſecret, for preventing of Factions: and when they are choſen, they are conſecrated by the College of Prieſts. The care of all Sacred Things, and the Worſhip of God, and an inſpection into the Manners of the People, is committed to them. It is a reproach to a Man to be ſent for by any of them, or to be even ſpoke to in ſecret by them, for that always gives ſome ſuſpicions: all that is incumbent

bent on them, is only to exhort and admoniſh People; for the power of correcting and puniſhing ill Men, belongs wholly to the Prince, and to the other Magiſtrates: The ſevereſt thing that the Prieſt does, is the excluding of Men that are deſperately wicked from joining in their Worſhip: There's not any ſort of Puniſhment that is more dreaded by them than this, for as it loads them with Infamy, ſo it fills them with ſecret Horrors, ſuch is their reverence to their Religion; nor will their Bodies be long exempted from their ſhare of trouble; for if they do not very quickly ſatisfy the Prieſts of the truth of their Repentance, they are ſeized on by the Senate, and puniſhed for their Impiety. The breeding of the Youth belongs to the Prieſts, yet they do not take ſo much care of inſtructing them in Letters, as of forming their Minds and Manners aright; and they uſe all poſſible Methods to infuſe very early in the tender and flexible Minds of Children, ſuch Opinions as are both good in themſelves, and will be uſeful to their Country: for when deep impreſſions of theſe things are made at that Age, they follow Men through the whole courſe of their Lives,

and conduce much for the preſerving the Peace of the Government, which ſuffers by nothing more than by Vices that riſe out of ill Opinions. The Wives of their Prieſts are the moſt extraordinary Women of the whole Country; ſometimes the Women themſelves are made Prieſts, tho that falls out but ſeldom, nor are any but ancient Widows choſen into that Order.

None of the Magiſtrates have greater honour paid them, than is paid the Prieſts; and if they ſhould happen to commit any Crime, they would not be queſtioned for it: their Puniſhment is left to God, and to their own Conſciences: for they do not think it lawful to lay hands on any Man, how wicked ſoever he is, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God; nor do they find any great inconvenience in this, both becauſe they have ſo few Prieſts, and becauſe theſe are choſen with much caution, ſo that it muſt be a very unuſual thing to find one who was meerly out of regard to his Vertue, and for his being eſteemed a ſingularly good Man, raiſed up to ſo great a dignity, degenerate into ſuch Corruption and Vice: and if ſuch a thing ſhould fall out, for Man is a changeable Creature; yet

yet there being a few Prieſts, and theſe having no Authority, but that which riſes out of the reſpect that is paid them, nothing that is of great Conſequence to the Publick, can come from the indemnity that the Prieſts enjoy.

They have indeed very few of them, leſt greater Numbers ſharing in the ſame honour, might make the dignity of that Order which they eſteem ſo highly, to ſink in its Reputation: they alſo think it is hard to find out many that are of ſuch a pitch of Goodneſs, as to be equal to that dignity for which they judg that ordinary Vertues do not qualify a Man ſufficiently: nor are the Prieſts in greater veneration among them, than they are among their Neighbouring Nations, as you may imagine by that which I think gives occaſion for it.

When the *Utopians* engage in a Battel, the Prieſts that accompany them to the War, kneel down during the Action, in a place not far from the Field, apparalled in their Sacred Veſtments: and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, they pray, firſt for Peace, and then for Victory to their own ſide, and particularly that it may be gained without the effuſion

of much Blood on either ſide; and when the Victory turns to their ſide, they run in among their own Men to reſtrain their Fury; and if any of their Enemies ſee them, or call to them, they are preſerved by that means: and ſuch as can come ſo near them as to touch their Garments, have not only their Lives, but their Fortunes ſecured to them: It is upon this account, that all the Nations round about conſider them ſo much, and pay them ſo great reverence, that they have been often no leſs able to preſerve their own People from the fury of their Enemies, than to ſave their Enemies from their rage: for it has ſometimes fallen out, that when their Armies have been in diſorder, and forced to fly, ſo that their Enemies were running upon the ſlaughter and ſpoil, the Prieſts by interpoſing, have ſtop'd the ſhedding of more Blood, and have ſeparated them from one another; ſo that by their Mediation, a Peace has been concluded on very reaſonable Terms; nor is there any Nation about them ſo fierce, cruel, or barbarous, as not to look upon their Perſons as Sacred and Inviolable.

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The first and the last day of the Month, and of the Year, is a Festival: they measure their Months by the course of the Moon; and their Years by the course of the Sun: The first days are called in their Language the *Cynemernes*, and the last the *Trapemernes*, which answers in our Language to the Festival that begins, or ends the Season.

They have magnificent Temples, that are not only nobly built, but are likewise of great Reception: which is necessary, since they have so few of them: They are a little dark within, which flows not from any Error in their Architecture, but is done on design; for their Priests think that too much light dissipates the thoughts, and that a more moderate degree of it, both recollects the Mind, and raises Devotion. Tho there are many different Forms of Religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main Point, which is the worshipping the Divine Essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their Temples, in which the several Perswasions among them may not agree; for every Sect performs those Rites that are peculiar to it, in their private Houses, nor

is there any thing in the Publick Worſhip, that contradicts the particular ways of thoſe different Sects. There are no Images for God in their Temples, ſo that every one may repreſent him to his thoughts, according to the way of his Religion; nor do they call this one God by any other Name, but that of *Mithras*, which is the common Name by which they all expreſs the Divine Eſſence, whatſoever otherwiſe they think it to be; nor are there any Prayers among them, but ſuch as every one of them may uſe without prejudice to his own Opinion.

They meet in their Temples on the Evening of the Feſtival that concludes a Seaſon: and not having yet broke their Faſt, they thank God for their good ſucceſs during that Year or Month, which is then at an end: and the next day, being that which begins the new Seaſon, they meet early in their Temples, to pray for the happy Progreſs of all their Affairs during that Period, upon which they then enter. In the Feſtival which concludes the Period, before they go to the Temple, both Wives and Children fall on their Knees before their Huſbands or Parents, and confeſs every thing in which they

they have either erred or failed in their Duty, and beg pardon for it: Thus all little Diſcontents in Families are removed, that ſo they may offer up their Devotions with a pure and ſerene mind; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with diſturbed thoughts; or when they are conſcious to themſelves that they bear Hatred or Anger in their Hearts to any Perſon; and think that they ſhould become liable to ſevere Puniſhments, if they preſumed to offer Sacrifices without cleanſing their Hearts, and reconciling all their Differences. In the Temples, the two Sexes are ſeparated, the Men go to the right hand, and the Women to the left: and the Males and Females do all place themſelves before the Head, and Maſter or Miſtreſs of that Family to which they belong; ſo that thoſe who have the Government of them at home, may ſee their deportment in publick: and they intermingle them ſo, that the younger and the older may be ſet by one another; for if the younger ſort were all ſet together, they would perhaps trifle away that time too much, in which they ought to beget in themſelves a moſt religious dread of the Supream

pream Being, which is the greateſt, and almoſt the only incitement to Vertue.

They offer up no living Creature in Sacrifice, nor do they think it ſuitable to the Divine Being, from whoſe Bounty it is that theſe Creatures have derived their Lives, to take pleaſure in their Death, or the offering up their Blood. They burn Incenſe, and other ſweet Odours, and have a great number of Wax Lights during their Worſhip; not out of any Imagination that ſuch Oblations can add any thing to the Divine Nature, for even Prayers do not that; but as it is a harmleſs and pure way of worſhipping God, ſo they think thoſe ſweet Savors and Lights, together with ſome other Ceremonies, do, by a ſecret and unaccountable Vertue, elevate Mens Souls, and inflame them with more force and chearfulneſs during the Divine Worſhip.

The People appear all in the Temples in white Garments; but the Prieſt's Veſtments are particoloured; both the Work and Colours are wonderful: they are made of no rich Materials, for they are neither embroidered, nor ſet with precious Stones, but are compoſed of the Plumes of ſeveral Birds, laid together with

with ſo much Art, and ſo neatly, that the true value of them is far beyond the coſtlieſt Materials. They ſay, that in the ordering and placing thoſe Plumes, ſome dark Myſteries are repreſented, which paſs down among their Prieſts in a ſecret Tradition concerning them; and that they are as Hieroglyphicks, putting them in mind of the Bleſſings that they have received from God, and of their Duties, both to him and to their Neighbours. As ſoon as the Prieſt appears in thoſe Ornaments, they all fall proſtrate on the Ground, with ſo much reverence and ſo deep a ſilence, that ſuch as look on, cannot but be ſtruck with it, as if it were the effect of the appearance of a Deity. After they have been for ſome time in this poſture, they all ſtand up, upon a ſign given by the Prieſt, and ſing ſome Hymns to the Honour of God, ſome muſical Inſtruments playing all the while. Theſe are quite of another form than thoſe that are uſed among us: but, as many of them are much ſweeter than ours, ſo others are not to be compared to thoſe that we have. Yet in one thing they exceed us much, which is, that all their Muſick, both Vocal and Inſtrumental, does

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ſo imitate and expreſs the Paſſions, and is ſo fitted to the preſent occaſion, whether the ſubject matter of the Hymn is chearful, or made to appeaſe, or troubled, doleful, or angry; that the Muſick makes an impreſſion of that which is repreſented, by which it enters deep into the Hearers, and does very much affect and kindle them. When this is done, both Prieſts and People offer up very ſolemn Prayers to God in a ſet Form of Words; and theſe are ſo compoſed, that whatſoever is pronounced by the whole Aſſembly, may be likewiſe applied by every Man in particular to his own condition; in theſe they acknowledg God to be the Author and Governor of the World, and the Fountain of all the Good that they receive; for which they offer up their Thankſgivings to him; and in particular, they bleſs him for his Goodneſs in ordering it ſo, that they are born under a Government that is the happieſt in the World, and are of a Religion that they hope is the trueſt of all others: but if they are miſtaken, and if there is either a better Government, or a Religion more acceptable to God, they implore his Goodneſs to let them know it, vowing

vowing, that they reſolve to follow him whitherſoever he leads them: but if their Government is the beſt, and their Religion the trueſt, then they pray that he may fortify them in it, and bring all the World, both to the ſame Rules of Life, and to the ſame Opinions concerning himſelf; unleſs, according to the unſearchableneſs of his Mind, he is pleaſed with a variety of Religions. Then they pray that God may give them an eaſy paſſage at laſt to himſelf; not preſuming to ſet limits to him, how early or late it ſhould be; but if it may be wiſh'd for, without derogating from his Supream Authority, they deſire rather to be quickly delivered, and to go to God, tho by the terribleſt ſort of Death, than to be detained long from ſeeing him, in the moſt proſperous courſe of Life poſſible. When this Prayer is ended, they all fall down again upon the Ground, and after a little while they riſe up, and go home to Dinner; and ſpend the reſt of the day in diverſion or Military Exerciſes.

Thus have I deſcribed to you, as particularly as I could, the Conſtitution of that Common-Wealth, which I do not only think to be the beſt in the World,

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but to be indeed the only *Common-Wealth* that truly deſerves that name. In all other places, it is viſible, that whereas People talk of a *Common-Wealth*, every Man only ſeeks his own *Wealth*; but there where no Man has any Property, all Men do zealouſly purſue the good of the Publick: and indeed, it is no wonder to ſee Men act ſo differently, for in other Common-Wealths, every Man knows, that unleſs he provides for himſelf, how flouriſhing ſoever the Common-Wealth may be, he muſt die of Hunger; ſo that he ſees the neceſſity of preferring his own Concerns to the Publick; but in *Utopia*, where every Man has a right to every thing, they do all know, that if care is taken to keep the Publick Stores full, no private Man can want any thing; for among them there is no unequal diſtribution, ſo that no Man is poor, nor in any neceſſity; and tho no Man has any thing, yet they are all rich; for what can make a Man ſo rich, as to lead a ſerene and chearful Life, free from anxieties; neither apprehending want himſelf, nor vexed with the endleſs complaints of his Wife? he is not affraid of the miſery of his Children, nor is he contriving how to raiſe a Portion for his

his Daughters, but is ſecure in this, that both he and his Wife, his Children and Grand-Children, to as many Generations as he can fancy, will all live, both plentifully and happily, ſince among them there is no leſs care taken of thoſe who were once engaged in Labour, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is elſewhere for theſe that continue ſtill at it. I would gladly hear any Man compare the Juſtice that is among them, with that which is among all other Nations; among whom, may I periſh, if I ſee any thing that looks either like Juſtice, or Equity; for what Juſtice is there in this, that a Noble-man, a Goldſmith, or a Banquer, or any other Man, that either does nothing at all, or at beſt is imployed in things that are of no uſe to the Publick, ſhould live in great luxury and ſplendor, upon that which is ſo ill acquired; and a mean Man, a Carter, a Smith, or a Ploughman, that works harder, even than the Beaſts themſelves, and is imployed in Labours that are ſo neceſſary, that no Common-Wealth could hold out an Year to an end without them, can yet be able to earn ſo poor a livelihood out of it, and muſt lead ſo miſerable a Life in it, that

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the Beasts condition is much better than theirs? for as the Beasts do not work so constantly, so they feed almost as well, and more pleasantly; and have no anxiety about that which is to come, whereas these Men are depressed by a barren and fruitless Imployment, and are tormented with the apprehensions of Want in their old Age; since that which they get by their daily Labour, does but maintain them at present, and is consumed as fast as it comes in; so that there is no overplus left them which they can lay up for old Age.

Is not that Government both unjust and ungrateful, that is so prodigal of its Favors, to those that are called Gentlemen, or Goldsmiths, or such others that are idle, or live, either by flattery, or by contriving the arts of vain Pleasure; and on the other hand, takes no care of those of a meaner sort, such as Ploughmen, Colliers, and Smiths, without whom it could not subsist: but after the Publick has been served by them, and that they come to be oppreſt with Age, Sickness, and Want, all their Labours and the good that they have done is forgotten; and all the Recompence given them, is, that they

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are left to die in great misery: And the richer sort are often endeavoring to bring the hire of Labourers lower, not only by their fraudulent Practices, but by the Laws which they procure to be made to that effect: so that tho it is a thing most injust in it self, to give such small Rewards to those who deserve so well of the Publick, yet they have given these hardships the name and colour of Justice, by procuring Laws to be made for regulating it.

Therefore I must say, that as I hope for Mercy, I can have no other Notion of all the other Governments that I see or know, than that they are a Conspiracy of the richer sort, who on pretence of managing the Publick, do only pursue their private Ends, and devise all the ways and arts that they can find out; first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then, that they may engage the poorer sort to toil and labour for them, at as low rates as is possible, and oppress them as much as they please: and if they can but prevail to get these Contrivances established, by the show of Publick Authority, which is considered as the representative of the

whole People, then they are accounted Laws: and yet theſe wicked Men after they have, by a moſt inſatiable covetouſneſs, divided that among themſelves, with which all the reſt might have been well ſupplied, are far from that happineſs, that is enjoyed among the *Utopians*: for the uſe as well as the deſire of Mony being extinguiſhed, there is much anxiety and great occaſions of Miſchief cut off with it: and who does not ſee that Frauds, Thefts, Robberies, Quarrels, Tumults, Contentions, Seditions, Murders, Treacheries, and Witchcrafts, that are indeed rather puniſhed than reſtrained by the ſeverities of Law, would all fall off, if Mony were not any more valued by the World? Mens Fears, Solicitudes, Cares, Labours, and Watchings, would all periſh in the ſame moment, that the value of Mony did ſink: even Poverty it ſelf, for the relief of which Mony ſeems moſt neceſſary, would fall, if there were no Mony in the World. And in order to the apprehending this aright, take one inſtance.

Conſider any Year that has been ſo unfruitful, that many thouſands have died of Hunger; and yet if at the end of that Year a ſurvey

ſurvey were made of the Granaries of all the rich Men, that have hoarded up the Corn, it would be found that there was enough among them, to have prevented all that conſumption of Men that periſhed in that Miſery: and that if it had been diſtributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that ſcarcity; ſo eaſy a thing would it be to ſupply all the neceſſities of Life, if that bleſſed thing called *Mony*, that is pretended to be invented for procuring it, were not really the only thing that obſtructed it.

I do not doubt but rich Men are ſenſible of this, and that they know well how much a greater happineſs it were to want nothing that were neceſſary, than to abound in many ſuperfluities; and to be reſcued out of ſo much Miſery, than to abound with ſo much Wealth: and I cannot think but the ſenſe of every Man's Intereſt, and the Authority of Chriſt's Commands, who as he was infinitely wiſe, and ſo knew what was beſt, ſo was no leſs good in diſcovering it to us, would have drawn all the World over to the Laws of the *Utopians*, if *Pride*, that plague of Humane Nature, that is the ſource of ſo much miſery, did not hinder

it; which does not measure happiness so much by its own conveniences, as by the miseries of others; and would not be satisfied with being thought a *Goddess*, if none were left that were miserable, over whom she might insult; and thinks its own happiness shines the brighter, by comparing it with the misfortunes of other Persons; that so by displaying its own Wealth, they may feel their Poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal Serpent that creeps into the Breasts of Mortals, and possesses them too much to be easily drawn out: and therefore I am glad that the *Utopians* have fallen upon this Form of Government, in which I wish that all the World could be so wise as to imitate them: for they have indeed laid down such a Scheme and Foundation of Policy, that as Men live happy under it, so it is like to be of great continuance: for they having rooted out of the Minds of their People, all the Seeds, both of Ambition and Faction, there is no danger of any Commotions at Home: which alone has been the ruin of many States, that seemed otherwise to be well secured; but as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by such good Laws, the

the envy of all their Neighboring Frinces, who have often attemped their Ruin, but in vain, will never be able to put their ſtate into any Commotion or Diſorder.

When *Raphael* had thus made an end of ſpeaking, tho many things occurred to me, both concerning the Manners and Laws of that People, that ſeemed very abſurd, as well in their way of making of War, as in their Notions of Religion, and Divine Matters; together with ſeveral other Particulars, but chiefly that which ſeemed the Foundation of all the reſt, their living in common, without any uſe of Mony, by which all Nobility, Magnificence, Splendour, and Majeſty; which, according to the common Opinion, are the true Ornaments of a Nation, would be quite taken away; Yet ſince I perceived that *Raphael* was weary, and I was not ſure whether he could eaſily bear contradiction in theſe Matters, remembring that he had taken notice of ſome, who ſeemed to think that they were bound in honour for ſupporting the credit of their own Wiſdom, to find out ſome matter of cenſure in all other Mens Inventions, beſides their own; therefore I only commended their Conſtitution, and the ac-

count he had given of it in general; and so taking him by the hand, I carried him to supper, and told him I would find out some other time for examining that matter more particularly, and for discoursing more copiously concerning it; for which I wish I may find a good opportunity. In the mean while, tho I cannot perfectly agree to every thing that was related by *Raphael*, yet there are many things in the Common-Wealth of *Utopia*, that I rather wish than hope to see followed in our Governments; tho it must be confessed, that he is both a very learned Man, and has had a great practice in the World.

FINIS.